

KEEP AS TOP SERIAL

REQUESTOR

RL#

SUBJECT

DATE

[Redacted]

6362

[Redacted]

10-26-81

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2-1-00 SPS JC/TMB  
922191 447981

CPO-169

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>DETROIT</b>	Office of Origin <b>DETROIT</b>	Date <b>10/14/66</b>	Investigative Period <b>10/21/65 - 10/12/66</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.</b>		Report made by <b>SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN</b>	Typed By <b>PM</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SM - SDS</b>	

Synopsis:

REFERENCES: Detroit reports of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN, 10/8/65, and 6/30/66.

- P -

LEADSBUFFALODATE 1-13-05CLASSIFIED BY ME 65179 DMH/HK9/cttDECLASSIFY ON 45X3.3(1,6) 1-13-2030CIA# 02-0603AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK:

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Will determine through [redacted] whether he has had or anticipates any additional contact with this subject, it being noted Buffalo informant furnished considerable very valuable information concerning subject's indicated travel to North Vietnam, under circumstances which would indicate that informant had subject's complete trust.

P over one yearP prosecution over six months

Approved <u>J. J. test</u>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  <u>See Cover Page B</u>		<u>105-142056-39</u>	<u>REG-58</u>
		<u>25 OCT 24 1966</u>	<u>REC-26</u>
			<u>ST-105</u>

**51 NOV 3 1966****3 copies destroyed**

Copy to PAO, State, CIA, FBI, DDCI, OASD, D-2  
by routing slip for PAO, State, CIA, OASD, D-2  
 info  action  
date 10-27-66  
by PAO, State, CIA, OASD, D-2

**SUBJ. CONTROL**~~SECRET~~

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DE 100-33032

If no regular liaison between that informant and subject exists, Buffalo is requested to explain the circumstances of their contact and its observations as to whether a liaison between these two can be encouraged, in the interests of enlarging present coverage against subject.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

1. Chicago is furnished an information copy of this report inasmuch as Chicago is on COMINFIL, SDS investigation, it being noted subject was President of that organization 1965 - 1966, and presumably will remain active with SDS.

2. Will, through police agency checks, attempt to verify subject's claimed arrest at Chicago, Illinois, no details of which are presently available. In this connection it is noted subject, as reported herein, told a group of Peace Corps trainees in Puerto Rico of an alleged arrest of subject at Chicago in a case in which he claimed to have been "framed" by the police.

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Copies:

- 12 - Bureau (105-142056) (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Detroit (RM)
- 1 - G2, Detroit (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Detroit (RM)
- 1 - ONI, Chicago (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (100-42010) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-COMINFIL, SDS
- 2 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- 4 - Detroit (100-33032)
  - 1 - 100-11627 (IUCDFP)

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DE 100-33032

CINCINNATI

AT YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO:

Will, through established confidential sources, attempt to determine subject's exact status relative to employment with that college and conduct appropriate investigation relative to subject's residence or anticipated reisidence at Yellow Springs.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA:

Will determine whether [redacted] has returned to Los Angeles and, if located, contact to determine whether he has any additional pertinent information concerning subject since last contact and, additionally evaluate the potential of developing [redacted] as a regular source against subject.

In this connection, it is noted that [redacted] obviously has a professional respect for this subject and has displayed in the past [redacted]. It is recognized that these individuals would have infrequent contact, however, it is noted that [redacted] has furnished extensive valuable information concerning this subject in the past. On the basis of information previously furnished he would appear to afford excellent potential as a source to be used against subject.

Re Los Angeles letter to the Bureau, 3/31/66, Detroit did not make any effort to have [redacted] contacted at New York so as to preserve Los Angeles' confidential relation with this source.

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WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.:

Requested, through appropriate offices of United States Department of State to determine whether any

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DE 100-33032

additional pertinent information concerning subject's foreign travel has been developed by State Department. In this connection, it is noted that State Department and embassy officials referred to in the administrative pages of this report refer to subject's 1965 travel to Vietnam and Japan and in one U.S. Department of State dispatch, numerous embassies were alerted to U.S. Department of State information that subject may, in 1965, have traveled to North Vietnam and Korea. Receiving embassies were alerted to furnish any such pertinent information to U.S. Department of State.

NEW YORK (INFORMATION)

New York is furnished an information copy of this report inasmuch as subject is an acknowledged leader of the "New Left" and past President of SDS. It is believed he will inevitably come to the attention of New York re activities, speeches, etc.

Additionally, it is noted New York has developed valuable pertinent information regarding subject through source CG 5824-S\*, indicating contact with or interest in subject on the part of CP functionaries.

DETROIT

AT ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN:

Will, through established confidential informants and sources at U of M and at Ann Arbor, attempt to develop additional information concerning subject's employment plans as reported herein and determine whether subject anticipates moving his family to Yellow Springs, Ohio.

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CPO-173

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DE 100-33032

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
DE T-1 is Pretext call to [redacted]	b6 b7C instant report
DE T-2 is [redacted] (PSI)	b6 b7C b7D 100-33032-218
DE T-3 is [redacted]	b7D -218
DE T-4 is [redacted] (Cincinnati Source, protected at her request)	b6 b7C b7D -223
DE T-5 is [redacted] Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio	b6 b7C b7D -223
DE T-6 is [redacted] Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Request)	b6 b7C b7D -170
DE T-7 is [redacted] Ann Arbor, Michigan (Request)	b6 b7C b7D -161

- E -

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DE 100-33032

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
DE T-8 is [redacted]	b6 b7C b7D 100-33032-128
Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Request)	
DE T-9 is [redacted] [redacted] California (Request)	b6 b7C b7D - 60
DE T-10 is [redacted]	-116
DE T-11 is [redacted]	b7D -129
DE T-12 is [redacted]	-133
DE T-13 is [redacted] (PSI)	b6 b7C b7D -197
DE T-14 is [redacted]	b7D -216
DE T-15 is [redacted]	b6 b7C b7D 105-11627-680 <i>X U</i>
U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Request)	
DE T-16 is Observations of SAs, FBI	-680

- F -

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CPO-175

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DE 100-33032

Identity of SourceLocation

DE T-17 is

b6  
b7C  
b7D

105-11627-680

U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan  
(Request)

DE T-18 is

100-33032-220

DE T-19 is

b7D

-221

DE T-20 is

-209

DE T-21 is  
NY 4664-S\*

DE T-22 is

b7D

-142

Characterization of MAY 2nd MOVEMENT

DE T-23 is

-140

DE T-24 is

-200

DE T-25 is

-187

DE T-26 is

b7D

-202

DE T-27 is  
CG 6893-S\*

-147

DE T-28 is

-116

- G -

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CPO-176

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DE 100-33032

X-(S)

Identity of Source

Location

DE T-29 is

[redacted]  
b7D

100-33032-151

DE T-30 is

(S) [redacted]

(S) b1  
b7D

-186

DE T-31 is

[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

-194

Bendix Systems Division,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
(Protect)

DE T-32 is

[redacted]  
b7D

-189

DE T-33 is

(S) [redacted]

b1

-149

DE T-34 is

[redacted]  
b7D

- 51

DE T-35 is

[redacted]  
(PSI, New York)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

-112

DE T-36 is

[redacted]  
(NY, PSI)

- 88

DE T-37 is

[redacted]  
Wayne  
State University, Detroit  
(Request)

- 74

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DE 100-33032

Identity of SourceLocation

DE T-38 is

(Detroit source)  
(Request)b6  
b7C  
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100-33032- 96

DE T-39 is

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 81

California State College -

Los Angeles,  
Los Angeles, California  
(Request)

DE T-40 is

b7D

- 99

DE T-41 is

b6  
b7C  
b7D

-164

U of M, Ann Arbor  
(Request)

DE T-42 is

b7D

-166

DE T-43 is

b6  
b7C  
b7D

-158

U of M, Ann Arbor,  
Michigan  
(Request)

DE T-44 is

b7D

-192

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DE 100-33032

Identity of Source

DE T-45 is

[redacted]

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DE T-46 is

[redacted]

PSI

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Location

DE 100-1334-10094

DE 100-1334-10094

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DE 100-33032

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Dissemination

Twelve copies of instant report were indicated for the Bureau inasmuch as that number were furnished the Bureau of subject's initial report, referenced above. It was noted in referenced report that the Bureau may desire wider than normal distribution in view of subject's recent employment as President of SDS and in view of his recent past employment with "vital facility". In view of latter reference to employment, possible dissemination includes the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Defense Intelligence Agency, G-2, ONI, OSI and possibly CIA in view of subject's foreign travel.

It is noted that Bendix Systems Division is a "vital facility". It is of procli interest to the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Army. U.S. Air Force is the security responsible agency. This facility is of interest to U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Classification

A classification of "Secret" is given this report inasmuch as it refers to [redacted]

(S)

[redacted] as reported in initial report referenced above. It is additionally classified "Secret" inasmuch as it contains "Information" [redacted]

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Dissemination of this report has been made locally at Detroit, Michigan, to G-2, OSI, and U.S. Secret Service, as well as to ONI, Chicago.

Security Index Status

Subject is included in Detroit Security Index, tabbed "Detcom". A review of available information indicates he continues to qualify for inclusion in the Security Index.

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DE 100-33032

Regarding subject's Security Index status, it was previously recommended by Detroit that since the subject was placed on the Security Index largely in view of his position as President of SDS, that consideration would be given to recommending interview of the subject, when he completed his term of office, as a means to evaluate whether he should be continued on the SI. In this connection it was noted the subject was not placed on SI because of past subversive activities, was recommended for inclusion in the SI by the Bureau and has by his actions indicated he would not be adverse to an FBI interview.

In this connection it is noted that subject, as noted, initiated contact with FBI during 1965, in an effort to justify position of SDS.

Since he was initially placed on the SI, his foreign travel, identified association with Communists in the U.S. and abroad, and his association with subversive organizations and individuals, as well as his own description of himself as an "anarchist", would continue to qualify him for continued inclusion on the SI. It is believed, however, that subject would be responsive to interview and enable the Bureau to make a better evaluation of the subject through this interview.

In view of the indicated change of subject's employment and residence, a recommendation for an interview with the subject will await determination of his residence status. If he remains at Yellow Springs, Ohio, an interview will be left to the discretion of the Cincinnati Division. If he remains at Ann Arbor, Michigan, Detroit will separately submit recommendation to the Bureau for an interview as discussed above.

Investigative Period

Initial referenced report is a summary report and was the basis for Detroit's recommendation for inclusion of subject in the SI. Second referenced report, dated 6/30/66, was a single item report prepared on the instructions

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DE 100-33032

of the Bureau concerning the subject's alleged connection with the Peace Corps.

The extended period appearing in the "Investigative Period" above, is set forth inasmuch as information dating back to Detroit's initial report is included in instant report.

Foreign Travel

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Re: [REDACTED]

and IUCDFP

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Chicago letter to Bureau, dated 10/11/65, contains information obtained from CG 6893-S\*, 6/24/65, relative to information secured through the National Headquarters of SDS. In this information the question of an SDS representative attending the International Peace Congress in Finland was discussed. Subject was reported as having nothing decided on this matter, but "that they were having a meeting the next day at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and that something had been decided concerning this as well as something concerning Saigon." Subject is reported to have said that [REDACTED] had indicated he felt that OGLESBY should not go

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"to the meeting in Saigon because OGLESBY was the president of the SDS and if the president went, it would look 'political'".

It is noted that [redacted] referred to above, would appear to refer to [redacted] (Bufile 100-444127) (Detroit file 100-133041). [redacted] has been identified [redacted] the IUCDFP and [redacted] [redacted] SDS and IUCDFP organizations has previously been referred to by Detroit. Above information would indicate that [redacted] possibly [redacted] subject [redacted]

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Further, with reference to subject's association

[redacted]  
[redacted]

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This communication refers to a request of the

[redacted]  
[redacted]

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With regard to the above, [redacted] would appear to be identical with an individual by that name [redacted]  
[redacted] an IUCDFP sponsored 9/65 conference held at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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Chicago teletype to Bureau, 10/20/65, under captioned "INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST, COMINFIL, SDS", notes that subject was at that time in Washington, D.C., for an SDS press conference and his address was given as [redacted] Institute For Political Studies, 19 Florida Avenue, Washington, D.C.. where subject would be staying". This would [redacted] the IUCDFP organization.

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#### Miscellaneous

A lead was previously set forth for Detroit to identify [redacted] of Detroit, Michigan. Investigation determined that these individuals are Negro and not related to subject, who is not known to them.

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Lead was previously set out for Cleveland Division for investigation at Kent College, Kent, Ohio. Results of that investigation were furnished in Cleveland letter to Bureau, 11/15/65. That investigation added nothing to investigation previously available and was not included in this report. Cleveland Indices were determined to be negative concerning subject.

#### Hanoi Mission

New York airtel to Atlanta, under date 12/14/65, and captioned, "CP, USA - INTERNAL RELATIONS, IS - C", contains information from CG 5824-S\*. INFORMATION WAS NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM. This information notes that pursuant to instructions by GUS HALL, a CP, USA functionary, was to go to Washington, D.C., 12/14/65, to contact the Soviets to request that the Soviets arrange that a peace delegation headed by HERBERT APTHEKER, member of

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DE 100-33032

National Committee of CP, USA, go to North Vietnam within the following several weeks. In this delegation headed by APTHEKER, was to be CARL OGLESBY and Professor STAUGHTON LYND along with JOHN LOUIS of SNCC. Before going to North Vietnam it was planned that the above-mentioned delegation may go to Prague or Moscow or both cities.

Information concerning subject's discussion with GUS HALL at Adrian, Michigan, May, 1966, is set forth in the administrative pages of referenced report. On that encounter subject reportedly advised HALL that he had been invited to address a Peace Corps group in Puerto Rico and on that occasion GUS HALL reportedly invited subject to attend 1966 National Conference of the CP as a "guest".

Reference

Reference in this report is limited to Detroit's two reports in the interest of economy, inasmuch as material contained in instant report was extracted from some four volumes with numerous references.

Contents of Report

As previously noted, subject had no subversive background or history prior to assuming presidency of SDS in 1965, and evaluation of this subject as a consequence must necessarily be made through his writings, speeches and associations. For this reason, detailed information concerning such items is contained in this report in an attempt to establish his philosophy and beliefs. Most of the speeches of the subject were synopsied, however, his speech on March on Washington, Washington, D.C., is set forth herein verbatim. This speech was included intact inasmuch as it was determined important to the subject and was reprinted by the SDS and other organizations, who apparently regarded it as a policy statement.

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Radical Education Project (REP)

REP is a national project of SDS developed during 1966. Information concerning it has been furnished the Bureau under the SDS COMINFIL investigation as well as under the caption, "REP, INFORMATION CONCERNING - INTERNAL SECURITY." (J)

New York, by airtel to the Bureau, 10/5/66, under the last referenced caption, sets forth information concerning REP and subject's involvement therein as received from [REDACTED] and described by New York as [REDACTED] (Protect). [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised on 10/4/66, that while in attendance at the Socialist Scholars Conference held at New York City, 9/10/66, [REDACTED] of SDS. [REDACTED] Of this organization [REDACTED] advised

[REDACTED] CARL OGLESBY had left the SDS administration in order to give younger people a chance to assert themselves within that organization. On that organization [REDACTED] OGLESBY, at the present time, is organizing REP and working at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on behalf of REP [REDACTED] is working in the field to coordinate the activity of REP.

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[REDACTED] further advised that [REDACTED] graduate students who would choose an area of specialization, prepare a paper on same and submit it to a university faculty for approval. The student would then request a scholarship in that field with an accompanying grant which would enable the student to go to a foreign country, not for the primary purpose of writing his thesis, but rather to make contact with leaders of insurgent movements. According to New York airtel, [REDACTED] outlined the order of sequence to [REDACTED] as follows:

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1. Student writes a paper in a specialized area.

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2. Obtains approval of university faculty with resultant scholarship and grant.
3. Travels to a foreign country for the purpose of contacting leaders of insurgent movements.
4. With the ultimate goal to weaken and overthrow the U.S. Government.

The reliability of [redacted] is not known.

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[redacted] furnished New York with a copy of a description sheet for REP as furnished to her by REP. In this lengthy "prospectus" concerning the project, there is a section captioned "International Intelligence Network", which is set forth as follows:

"REP is beginning to develop a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop -- and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Japan, most European countries, Canada, and with Guatemalan guerillas, Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts are being extended, and to them we must add American scholars with specialized knowledge and contacts. On this basis we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgements, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition. By maintaining regular correspondence with radical groups and scholarship from abroad we can increase the degree of coordination between their work and that of the American movement.

In connection with the above, it is noted that information has been developed in Detroit's investigation of

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subject that his primary interest lies in the area of research and writing and that one of his principal interests as President of SDS was to establish a detailed research and analysis unit for the "New Left". As reported in this and other Detroit reports, subject has effected considerable travel abroad and is known to have been in contact with Communists, pacifists or activists in Italy, Japan and Vietnam, 1965 - 1966. (U)

His allies in the IUCDFP organization are known to have claimed "contacts" in France and Algiers. It would appear from the above that subject was likewise highly instrumental in the formation of REP and REP would reflect known interests on the part of the subject. Contrary to the information furnished [redacted] as related above, subject is not presently working on REP at Ann Arbor, but rather, as set forth in this report, is known to be employed at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. He does serve, as stated in this report, on the "Implementation Committee" of the REP project at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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FD-304 (Rev. 9-23-58)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 03-09-2010

Copy to:

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 1 - Secret Service, Detroit (RM)  
 1 - ONI, Chicago (RM)

Report of:  
Date:

SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN Office: Detroit, Michigan  
October 14, 1966

File Number:

100-33032

Bufile: 105-142056

Title:

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Synopsis:

Subject served as President, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 1965-1966. Subject reportedly presently employed as "Resident Activist Scholar", Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Additional background information and observations of associates set forth herein. Subject's association with Inter-University Committee For Debate on Foreign Policy, Alexander Defense Committee, Free University of Ann Arbor, May 2nd Movement, SANE Nuclear Policy, and Ann Arbor Defense Fund, as well as SDS, set forth herein. Foreign travel, press interviews, speeches and Peace Corps interest on part of subject, set forth, along with writings and publication of subject.

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DETAILS:

At Ann Arbor, Michigan:

Classified by 60770  
Exempt from GDS, Category 163  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
EG/R

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CPO-189

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16-74636-1 GPO

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DE 100-33032

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DE 100-33032

I. ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATIONA. Residence

[redacted] At that time it was determined subject was away from Ann Arbor, Michigan; however, was expected to return to his home August 26, 1966. (U)

DE T-1  
August 12, 1966

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Subject, since assuming presidency of Student's For a Democratic Society (SDS), June, 1965, has been in almost constant travel status throughout the United States and abroad, generally making appearances for SDS organization.

[redacted] however, subject was at that time arranging employment in another area of the country. (U)

DE T-2  
September 19, 1966

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

B. Employment

Subject was employed as President of the SDS organization during 1965 - 1966. Subject indicated that on completing his term as President of SDS on or about September 1, 1966, he was giving serious consideration to taking employment offered by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. In this connection subject stated he welcomed the opportunity to settle down to have the opportunity for serious thinking and writing after a solid year of travel. (U)

DE T-2  
September 19, 1966

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DE 100-33032

In promotional materials announcing a speaking engagement for the subject at the University of Michigan (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan, during September, 1966, subject was described as "Resident Activist Scholar", Antioch College, and "Past President, SDS".

DE T-3  
September 23, 1966

A source in September, 1966, stated that if plans to establish a "peace center" at Yellow Springs, Ohio materialize, subject would remain at Yellow Springs, Ohio, for a period from six months to one year to assist in co-ordinating various peace making activities and thereby assist in making Yellow Springs the center of such activities in the United States. Source noted that subject as a former President of SDS was in Yellow Springs, Ohio, during September, 1966, giving talks to student groups and townspeople, on which occasions he was "billed" as the "Intellectual Leader of the Peace Movement".

DE T-4  
September 30, 1966

"The Record" an Antioch College weekly newspaper dated September 9, 1966, stated that subject was a candidate for Community Government for Community Governments,"Activist Scholar in Resident' Post.

A source acquainted with matters at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, advised that to the best of his knowledge subject was not yet employed by Community Government, Antioch College, and source stated there had been much debate within the college as to whether subject should be given a paid position as Resident Activist Scholar.

DE T-5  
September 30, 1966

- 3 -

CPO-194

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DE 100-33032

C. Observations of Associates

An individual who claimed acquaintance with the subject in the period 1959 - 1966, in May of 1966 furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning subject:

He advised that in the earlier part of this period subject impressed him as a normal, well adjusted, moral individual of great competence. He increasingly displayed an almost complete concentration in political matters and at the development of the Cuban crisis and in the period building up to it, subject increasingly stated his admiration for FIDEL CASTRO. With the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, subject became personally deeply concerned in that incident and stated his criticism of United States presence and involvement in that area of the world. He stated his admiration for the Chinese in terms that caused this source to regard subject as "pro Communist China", as well as "pro Cuba".

By 1964, according to this source, there was a marked change in the subject whom source at that time regarded as abnormal, immoral and "increasingly radical" in his political philosophy. He was at this time known to the source to be dating various women, other than his wife, and source stated he knew him [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] Michigan. Additionally he changed completely in his political philosophy from that of a "respectable liberal" to a person with "revolutionary beliefs and statements". In his discussions he showed himself to be completely "anti-Capitalist" and almost abnormally "anti-military". He similarly developed an "anti-religious" attitude and almost daily spoke critically of the "American Capitalist System" the military industrial complex, and similarly spoke in a derogatory fashion toward all organized religion.

Source described subject as "completely an internationalist" who constantly stated high concern for world humanity. Subject told source in the fall of 1964, that he had voted as "far left" as he was permitted to in the 1964 national election.

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DE 100-33032

Source advised that the subject in his employment at Bendix Systems Division, where he was employed prior to assuming presidency of SDS, he was most interested in arms control and disarmament matters and showed great interest in becoming employed in that area of Bendix Research, unsuccessfully

With reference to subject's past employment with Bendix Systems Division, which source described as security sensitive employment, source advised that subject had access to very sensitive internal security information and showed great interest in arms control matters, particularly. He advised subject in this employment assigned to himself the most sensitive assignments being handled by his technical editing staff at Bendix. Source advised that subject displayed a personal philosophy of having a duty to humanity greater than his loyalty to America. Source stated subject might use any information in his possession in any manner subject felt might be helpful to aid in achieving world peace, irrespective of the best interests of the United States. With reference to this past employment, source added that subject was not a technically trained person and he did not believe that subject gained in this Bendix employment information of technical value involving national defense. He stated, however, subject, through this employment gained significant national defense information which, if divulged, would be of value to potential enemies of the United States. Source stated he does not regard subject to be a loyal United States citizen and believes him to hold little or no allegiance to the United States, subject having frequently described himself as a "citizen of the world".

DE T-6  
May 2, 1966

A source who claimed close personal and professional association with the subject, for a six - eight year period prior to 1966, in March of 1966 furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning subject:

- 5 -

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CPO-196

DE 100-33032

Source described subject as a brilliant writer, an "original thinker" and one who was highly regarded in his employment as "Technical Editor" at Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He described him politically as a "liberal", who developed into the "radical - left" during the fall of 1964, coinciding with the national election of 1964. Source advised that subject's turning point from "liberal" to "radical - left" appeared to be on the question of United States intervention in Vietnam. At that time subject became deeply concerned in political activity and considered political alternatives including "Freedom Now Party" and various socialist political parties. Subject told him at the time that he had become completely disgusted with traditional political parties in the United States and decided to vote for DU BARRY of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ticket in November, 1964 election. (U)

The SWP has been designated by the United States Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Source also said subject, at this time, studied all material available on the Vietnam question and became somewhat of a self-made authority on the question. At this same time subject, whose prior interest had been almost completely in the area of writing and drama, experienced some personal reverses in his artistic line and stated his disgust at further employment in the "war industrial complex" work in which Bendix was then engaged. He made known his desire to do positive work in the "arms control and disarmament area", which, at that time, was a research project undertaken by the Bendix Systems Division at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Subject, although not employed with the arms control and disarmament (U)

b7D

[redacted] subject decided to resign his Bendix employment to work full time in the area of "peace" with the SDS. (U)

DE 100-33032

On assuming the SDS Presidency in the summer of 1965, subject decided against moving his family to Chicago, Illinois, where the SDS headquarters are located, stating that he had taken the SDS position on condition that he would primarily engage in research to support SDS programs and decided Ann Arbor area provided him with the best environment for this work. In this connection, he noted his access to the faculty at U of M, to the excellent library facilities and to the general environment which he considered important to his work. Subject complained that despite the fact he had undertaken the SDS position for the reasons mentioned above, he said he had found little time to do any good research and little writing and found himself in an almost constant travel status making appearances throughout the country for SDS. (U)

Source described subject as a qualified writer and musician. He said subject is an acknowledged authority in matters concerning the theatre. He described subject as an author and playwright having had some three plays produced, all of which were given critical approval. His most recent play entitled "The Hero" almost made Broadway production in the recent past. It was the problem involving this play which anticipated Broadway production in 1965, whose failure got subject completely involved in the SDS program regarding Vietnam. (J)

Source advised that subject is very dramatic in his activities and brings a dramatic flair to almost everything he undertakes. He stated he knew subject as an acknowledged atheist and socialist in his general philosophy. Source stated, however, that he was certain the subject had no inclination toward violence nor the advocacy of violence. He described subject as primarily a humanitarian who frequently in discussion raises the principles of the Nuremberg War Crimes trials, i.e. the idea that a citizen has an obligation to all of mankind and that such obligation is superior to a citizen's obligation to his own nation, when he finds its laws to be immoral. (J)

Subject has advised source that he has close associations among the faculty at the U of M, Ann Arbor,

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DE 100-33032

Michigan, and that he regards as his own personal "hero" one

	Source described	subject's
close friend and associate		b6 b7C

Subject has told source that he considered himself somewhat of a "figurehead" President of SDS. In this connection he explained that he regarded himself as a thinker, writer, and speaker for the SDS organization and not as one who set policy or ran the affairs of SDS. In this connection he advised source that he aligns himself with U of M faculty associates in counseling the SDS organization rather than "running it".

Regarding subject's intensive work and personal sacrifice in assuming SDS Presidency, source advised that subject has completely devoted himself for approximately the past year to work in a positive way to counter United States policy in regards to Indo-China. Subject has told source he believes that not just the United States, but "humanity" is on the brink of disaster and he fears total destruction in a nuclear encounter. He has told source it is his intention presently to work with all his energies to forestall a nuclear war, the possibility of which he holds to be very much of a reality. He has told source that he believes that the total present day effort of United States foreign policy is aimed at a world disaster.

Source advised that from his close acquaintance with the subject he believes that while the subject is dedicated to changing conditions in the United States, he is not advocating or interested in the overthrow of the United States Government or United States system. He has stated his conviction that in the work of the "New Left", appropriate changes in the United States system, domestically and internationally, may result.

Source noted that at the time subject assumed Presidency of the SDS there were press accounts stating that the SDS organization contemplated deliberate violations

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DE 100-33032

of United States Espionage Laws. With regard to this matter, source advised subject told him that the SDS organization, such, had contemplated or considered interests of propaganda of military personnel, which activity he said was known to SDS as a possible violation of United States Espionage Laws. In this connection source recalls subject said he would personally not conduct any such illegal activity. Regarding sources of income, subject advised source that he received a meager and inadequate salary as President of SDS and that he was unable to do extensive traveling for SDS since his travel expenses were almost invariably covered by SDS. He stated that he generally does not receive money but rather that speaking engagements and tickets are generally sent to him by the Chicago Office of the SDS for travel to be made by him.

Additionally he said that regarding his foreign travel, such travel was made by him under funds furnished by a professors Vietnam protest group, not otherwise described.

DE T-7  
March 9, 1966

Subject was believed to have left somewhat of a small group of sympathizers to his views with some former fellow employees at Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan. In this connection, subject in January, 1965, was reportedly in contact with a Bendix former associate, to determine how many United States bases are maintained overseas and inquired as to their locations. This information is not classified information, however, was described as information readily available to Bendix because of its work in the arms control and disarmament and related areas.

DE T-8  
February 17, 1966

A source, who has been acquainted with the subject professionally in recent years, furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning subject in October, 1965:

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DE 100-33032

A play written by the subject and entitled "The Hero" was seriously considered for Broadway production in 1963 - 1964, however, due to technical difficulties of casting and otherwise, the production of this play has been indefinitely delayed. The play was produced on an amateur basis at the U of M during 1965. This play was described as a tremendous play which should establish subject as a significant American playwright, comparable to ARTHUR MILLER. It is described as a modern epic of classic drama, similar to Greek drama and concerns the struggle of man with his guilt and redemption. It utilized CHRIST as a symbol of a redeemed man and one of the secondary characterizations is that of an "FBI Agent for GOD". It is not a political play or an anti-war play and it has no subversive ramifications.

Another play of the subject's, "The Peacemakers", is described as one having anti-war overtones and is based on the "HATFIELD - MC COY feud". Other plays of the subject, "The Wind is No Wilder" and "Season of the Beast" have been produced in Hollywood and Texas, respectively, in recent years.

*Ch. 101*      *Oct. 1968*  
Source advised that subject and his wife are not separated but that subject plays around with any girl available to him [redacted]

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Source stated that subject in his employment could properly be referred to as President of SDS and Playwright in that subject makes no secret of his connection and complete sympathy with SDS. He has never expressed any sympathy for the Communist Party, United States of America, or any other group recognized as subversive in the United States. He is opposed to continuation of the war in Vietnam and United States intervention in the Dominican Republic. He admires any country which is

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DE 100-33032

socialist oriented and this is the basis of subject's admiration for FIDEL CASTRO. He keeps his political beliefs and playwriting separated in his thinking and is professionally regarded as a worthy playwright, particularly because he raises his plays far above the level of mere protest or anti-war plays.

Subject appeared on the American Broadcasting Company's television program, "Issues and Answers" on October 31, 1965, discussed the Vietnam situation as President of SDS. In this program he called the United States the aggressor in Vietnam.

DE T-9  
October 21, 1965

A source furnished the following miscellaneous information concerning the subject in December, 1965:

Subject considers himself to be "figurehead" National President of the SDS. He stated that the National SDS Leadership agrees that he should not be travelling all over the country and at times to various parts of the world; however, almost daily he is required to make a trip somewhere to make an appearance for SDS. As an SDS national officer, he receives something on the order of \$75.00 a week for his services and expenses. The amount of income is insufficient to sustain his family and he has been required to spend all of his personal savings during this time. The interior of subject's home at Ann Arbor, Michigan, is unusual in that the walls of the home are plastered throughout with posters depicting opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Regarding the financial condition of SDS and subject's income as President for the organization, subject has stated that there are "angels" who furnish amounts of money to keep the organization going and that he has attempted to secure financial support from "an old school leftist", who has furnished financial support to the SDS organization in the past.

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DE 100-33032

Subject also has stated that when his term as National Chairman of SDS expires in 1966, he will continue with the organization. In this connection he stated there are a number of people who are interested in keeping him in the public eye and would therefore keep him employed. He has stated the National Chairmanship of the SDS, as such, does not mean much to him, that his real interests lie in writing and speaking.

Subject's home at Ann Arbor, Michigan, was described as the center of education and research phases of SDS and he appears obviously more wrapped up in his career than his family (U)

Subject's interest in SDS activities started out through involvement in racial matters and when the Vietnam War came along he apparently moved over to protesting United States intervention in the war. (U)

DE T-10  
December 8, 1965

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## II. INTERVIEW

Following is set forth an interview with CARL OGLESBY held at Los Angeles, California, November 19, 1965, on the initiation of the subject:

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 11/24/65

During an interview with [redacted] *C.*  
[redacted] Students for a Democratic Society  
(SDS), at the SDS headquarters, 702 West 27th Street, Los Angeles, in connection with a possible violation of the Selective Service Act of 1948, an individual who identified himself as CARL OGLESBY, National President of SDS, indicated a desire to converse with the interviewing Agents.

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OGLESBY stated he had just heard a news release that the SDS in a national membership referendum had voted to take a neutral stand on the draft question. He stated that the votes were being counted when he left Chicago and that he was surprised at the result because he felt sure the membership would support the past SDS campaign against the draft and the war in Vietnam.

OGLESBY stated he had been in Los Angeles for the past few days and would be returning to the East that day. He commented that he did not know what the policy of the SDS would be now or what projects they would concentrate on. He did state that he felt that the SDS had been given a bad image in the eyes of the public in that a lot of people thought of the SDS as a bunch of draft card burners and draft dodgers. OGLESBY asserted that the SDS had never urged draft evasion or draft card burning, although it was possible individual members had burned their cards. He advised that SDS had sympathy with those who felt it necessary to burn their cards to express their viewpoints.

OGLESBY stated that the SDS has been interested in presenting a true picture of the war in Vietnam and in urging an alternative to force. He further stated that the SDS has concentrated on providing counseling on the draft for those who oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam. He alleged that the SDS has been interested only in providing alternatives to the draft and not draft evasion. He continued that the SDS would like to see the Government allow young men

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On 11/19/65 at Los Angeles, California 702 West 27th Street, Los Angeles 100-66519  
File # Detroit 100-33032

SAs [redacted] and b6  
by [redacted] /rgd/pm b7C Date dictated 11/19/65

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DE 100-33032

to serve their country in other capacities such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and community projects.

OGLESBY alleged that he had spent several weeks in Vietnam earlier this year and had talked to members of the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency there. OGLESBY was of the opinion that the majority of the people in Vietnam support the Viet Cong and that the Viet Cong is not the terrorist organization it is portrayed to be, but on the contrary is trying to gain the support of the people by giving them land, food and generally raising their standard of living. He claimed that the United States and the South Vietnamese are preventing the people from holding elections and choosing their own government. He further claimed that the United States and South Vietnamese troops are making enemies of the people by destroying their villages and killing the inhabitants.

OGLESBY commented that although he does not favor communism in the United States, that he does not feel it is necessarily wrong for Vietnam if it would be best for the people. He was of the opinion that the Vietnamese had the right to choose communism if they so desired and that it probably would be better for them than the current or more recent regimes in South Vietnam.

He stated he felt that it would be to the benefit of both the United States and Vietnam if the United States would withdraw its troops from Vietnam. He agreed that it was probable that the communists would take over all of Vietnam, but he believed that the United States by expert diplomacy could persuade the Vietnam government to be neutralist communist as is Yugoslavia. In this way, the war would be ended, the Vietnamese people would have peace and the United States would not have suffered any political setback.

OGLESBY indicated that he felt the word "communist" had become synonymous with evil in the minds of Americans and that this image was not necessarily true. He referred to the apparent change of politics on the part of the Soviet Union in that they are not engaged in the cold war to the extent they were in recent years. He alleged that communist control

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DE 100-33032

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of a country did not necessarily indicate political ties with the Soviet Union and gave as example Yugoslavia and Red China. He also claimed that North Vietnam did not like Red China and was not tied to them politically. He re-emphasized that he did not believe communist control over Vietnam would necessarily be bad and that the United States must learn to negotiate with communism. He reiterated that it was not the question of capitalism versus communism but whether a political system by any name would be good for the people of a given country.

OGLESBY commented that his father did not agree with his views and was very upset with him because of his attitude towards communism.

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DE 100-33032

III. SDS ACTIVITIESA. SDS Conference Held at University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, December 27, 1965 - January 2, 1966

CARL OGLESBY, as President of SDS, attended the SDS conference held at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, December, 1965 to January, 1966. He was described as aloof and maintaining himself from the politics and problems of the conference. He appeared above political issues and although President, never chaired even one of the many debates held during the conference. He attended various sessions of the conference, however, simply as a spectator. On one evening session he made an announcement that a representative of the American Society of Friends, Chicago, had contacted him concerning a private letter being written to HO CHI MEN of North Vietnam. In connection with this letter, he stated he was solicited as one whose signature was desired to this letter which was described as urging HO CHI MEN to be receptive to sincere peace offensives of the United States Government, if the peace offensives were genuinely sincere.

In discussing this matter, OGLESBY appeared to wish to express or demonstrate the day to day decision making problems confronting him in his position.

DE T-2  
January 7, 1966

At the National Council Meeting of the SDS held at the December conference of SDS at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, on January 1, 1966, a proposal was made to the National Council regarding the formation of something known as the Radical Education Project (REP). REP was described as the formation of a committee of from 15 to 25 individuals to assume responsibility for promoting radical education and research within the movement and to publish regular results of same, to establish speakers' bureaus on issues important to the movement and organize

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DE 100-33032

speakers' tours, to organize educational resources of value to local groups, etc. CARL OGLESBY was included among a group of seven individual designated for the implementation committee for REP which was described as to operate from Ann Arbor, Michigan. The proposal was passed by the National Counsel.

DE T-11  
January 5, 1966

At the National Counsel meeting held at Urbana, Illinois, December, 1965 to January, 1966, there was held a discussion of the Vietnamese war with the prospect of talking to soldiers urging them to take steps to hamper the war efforts. A participant in the discussion referred to an alleged incident where such an effort was made in California recently. In this discussion CARL OGLESBY stated that soldiers are not a real political force and that trying to talk them into our views is no good. He said that it could get "us shot for treason". He stated additionally that military personnel have no political power and that those considering such action would be better advised to work through their neighbors and friends to attempt to convince them of their views.

DE T-12  
January 5, 1960

B. SDS Convention, Yellow Springs, Ohio,  
April, 1966

CARL OGLESBY addressed the SDS convention meeting at Yellow Springs, Ohio, April, 1966, before which he gave a speech to the assembled convention in which he called the United States a group of misguided persons. He also stated that Red China has also failed as a world leader, indicating they were not controlling the small Asian nations, such as Vietnam.

DE T-13  
April 12, 1966

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DE 100-33032

C. National Counsel Meeting, SDS, Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
June, 1966

At the National Counsel meeting of the SDS held at the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June, 1966, the conference was concerned principally with SDS relationship with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the reorganization of the administrative offices of the SDS. As a result of action taken at this conference, the Chicago - Ann Arbor power axis of the organization was greatly crippled. It was determined that CARL OGLESBY will continue to serve as acting President, however, without salary. He derives his income presently from speaking engagements.

DE T-2  
June 24, 1966

D. SDS Convention, Clear Lake, Iowa,  
December, 1966

At the SDS National Convention held at Clear Lake August 27 to September 1, 1966, CARL OGLESBY and TODD GITLIN spoke before a panel on American intervention in the underdeveloped nations. The essential theme of these discussions was that American imperialism is not now based as it once was on taking over a country by force and installing a government, as in the case of the Phillipines, but rather through taking over economically. It was noted that small countries are being taken over in an economic sense and attempts are made to control the products and economy of these small countries through exploiting their natural resources and labor. U)

OGLESBY also addressed a plenary session of this conference.

DE T-14  
September 6, 1966

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DE 100-33032

IV. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONSA. Inter-University Committee For Debate on Foreign Policy (IUCDFP)

CARL OGLESBY, National President of SDS, in March, 1966, privately acknowledged his close association with officials of the IUCDFP at U of M and consultations with them for IUCDFP events. In this connection, he advised that arrangements are made, participants scheduled, and a schedule for the event published without any efforts at "tight organizing" such events. He said there is an attempt made to avoid an appearance that such affairs are well organized. OGLESBY, in this connection, stated his opinion that such Vietnam protest activity nationally was among the most important activity of its kind in the United States today.

DE T-7  
March 9, 1966

CARL OGLESBY and Professor ANATOLE RAPOPORT, a U of M Professor and 1965 National Secretary of the IUCDFP, both served as "National Sponsors" to the SDS, March, 1965 March on Washington while Ann Arbor sponsors to that event were U of M faculty identified with the leadership of IUCDFP at the U of M.

DE T-15  
April 18, 1966

The Inter-University Committee is a national Vietnam protest type organization, originated and headquartered at Ann Arbor, Michigan, aimed at altering United States foreign policy through activities of individuals connected with the academic and intellectual community, nationally and to some degree internationally. During 1965, at the U of M, its recognized leader was Professor ANATOLE RAPOPORT of the U of M.

DE T-15  
April 18, 1966

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DE 100-33032

[REDACTED] was interviewed by  
Special Agents of the FBI at Ann Arbor,  
on January 30 and 31, 1958, at which time  
he stated he had joined a Communist Party  
cell at the University of Chicago, Chicago,  
Illinois, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] He advised he continued as a  
Communist Party member [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] signed a form petition  
August, 1960, directed to the President  
of the United States, which called upon the  
President to commute the 30 year sentence of  
MORTON SOBELL, stating his address on that  
petition [REDACTED] and  
indicating on the petition that his name might  
be made public, along with other signers.

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MORTON SOBELL was convicted in United States  
District Court, Southern Division of New York,  
on March 29, 1951, of conspiracy to commit  
espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union.  
SOBELL was sentenced to 30 years on April 5, 1961.

[REDACTED]  
U of M. Ann Arbor. Michigan. and was listed as  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

DE T-15  
April 18, 1966

The IUCDFP arranged a "Peace Mission" to Saigon,  
Vietnam, during the summer of 1965, by a three man delegation  
including two IUCDFP representatives and CARL OGLESBY,  
President of SDS. A similar mission to Indo-China was  
made by the Women's Strike For Peace Organization at about (U)

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DE 100-33032

the same time for conferences with North Vietnam women peace representatives. The two Ann Arbor, Michigan representatives to each of the delegations, referred to above, CARL OGLESBY and Mrs. TODD GITLIN, on their return from these trips, jointly addressed several Ann Arbor, Michigan groups during the summer of 1965, concerning their respective missions.

DE T-3  
September 13, 1965

An article published at Ann Arbor, Michigan, concerns the original "Teach-In" on Vietnam held at the U of M overnight, March 24 - 25, 1965. CARL OGLESBY was identified as a participant in seminars conducted in conjunction with this teach-in event.

"The Ann Arbor News"  
Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
March 24, 1965

IUCDPP sponsored national event known as "National Teach-In" held at Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1965. CARL OGLESBY, identified with the U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was included among the list of resource personnel serving on seminars taking a position opposed to United States policy, held in conjunction with this event.

DE T-16  
May 15, 1965

The IUCDPP co-sponsored an event known as an international conference: Alternative Prospectives On Vietnam, which was held at U of M, September, 1965. In material distributed by that organization, CARL OGLESBY, SDS, was identified as one of the sponsors for the "Call" for this conference. He was also identified as "Participant" in this conference.

DE T-15  
September 20, 1965

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DE 100-33032

The IUCDFP in May, 1966, under date May 11, 1966, circulated members of the faculty of the U of M with a mailing, soliciting support for something referred to as "National Vietnam Examination". This material enclosed a copy of the "National Vietnam Examination", which is described thereon as having been prepared by the SDS and the IUCDFP. The material identified CARL OGLESBY as one of a group of "authorities on Vietnam" who assisted in the preparation of this examination.

DE T-17  
May 15, 1966

An IUCDFP sponsored conference was held at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, September 10 - 11, 1966, referred to as "The National Leadership Conference". The conference consisted of representatives of some 30 anti-war - civil rights groups and the conference was described as called to bring about a national unification of the anti-war and civil rights movements throughout the United States. The theme of the conference was "Mobilization in Demonstration." The conference included representatives of the Communist Party, the SWP and various peace and civil rights organizations. The conference planned national action to be based on an ethical or religious stand to be held for four days before the national election scheduled for November 8, 1966. A group was established to lead the "National Leadership Conference" and included among the proposed members of this group was CARL OGLESBY.

DE T-18  
September 12, 1966

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CPO-213

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DE 100-33032

Volume I, Number One, of the "Monthly News Letter" of the ADC, dated September, 1966, and entitled, "Notes From ADC", is identified on its masthead as located at 873 Broadway, second floor, New York, New York. The "News Letter" on its masthead identifies its officers and included among them is the name CARL OGLESBY, identified as Co-Chairman. (U)

DE T-19  
September 13, 1966

In a report of the SDS National Council Meeting of June, 1966, given at the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), New York City, it was stated that CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, had moved to support ADC against the Government's attempts to force it to register as a "foreign agent". (U)

It was also noted that a corollary motion was also passed whereby CARL OGLESBY would ask the ADC if he could become one of its national officers. (U)

DE T-20  
August 10, 1966

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DE 100-33032

B. Alexander Defense Committee

At the SDS National Council meeting held at U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June, 1966, a report was given by CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, on the Alexander Defense Committee, (ADC). It was pointed out that this group has been asked to register as an agent of a foreign government and that the Detroit Chapter of the Alexander Defense Committee had advised OGLESBY of their intention not to register. In this discussion of the ADC at the SDS council meeting it was determined that OGLESBY would request that he be made an officer of the ADC and his own organization would back him in the event trouble arose with the Federal Government in this matter.

DE T-12  
June 22, 1966

At the January SWP plenum, it was announced that a doctor named NEVILLE ALEXANDER had been arrested in South Africa on a "Phony" charge of trying to overthrow that Government and was being held a prisoner. It was stated that the SWP would participate in the formation of a defense committee for Doctor ALEXANDER in the United States.

DE T-45  
February 4, 1965

The formation of the ADC was announced in the issue of "The Militant" dated March 8, 1965. This set forth that men and women of various political beliefs had been invited to become sponsors of the Alexander Defense Committee. It was set forth that organizations in West Germany, England, Ireland, Japan and Algeria had already been formed to bring wide-spread support for ALEXANDER. Provisional officers of the ADC were named, including BERTA GREEN~~ZUCKOFF~~ as Corresponding Secretary.

*BT*  
BERTA GREEN (ZUCKOFF) is a member  
of the SWP.

DE T-46  
October 19, 1964

- 23 -

CPO-215

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DE 100-33032

In material disseminated by the YSA concerning ADC during the summer of 1966, it was noted that CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS, had been authorized by SDS National Counsel to serve as Co-Chairman of ADC and that this action had been supported by an SDS resolution as follows:

"SDS affirms its opposition at the attempt to force the ADC to register as the agent of a foreign principal. We regard this as a clear attempt at political intimidation aimed at stifling American support for South African freedom movements. We extend our solidarity to the ADC in this fight and urge all men of good will to join us in doing so."

DE T-21  
July 1, 1966

C. Free University of Ann Arbor

ERIC CHESTER in January, 1966, announced that preparations were then completed to institute a free University of Ann Arbor, then being formed at the U of M, Ann Arbor, which he described as being modeled after a similar free university recently formed in New York City. CHESTER noted that the course material would be principally organized in two major sections, one on literature, poetry, etc., for which CARL OGLESBY would be the principal instructor, and one on Marxism, for which he, ERIC CHESTER, would be the principal instructor.

DE T-2  
January 17, 1966

An article appeared in a publication at Detroit, Michigan, January, 1966, concerning the founding of a free university at Ann Arbor, which states in part as follows:

"A University community that invented the teach-in and has become the Mid-Western fount of the so-called 'New Left' ideology was bound to catch up with those counterparts on both coasts in developing such a university... 'the faculty' for instance, includes CARL OGLESBY, National

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DE 100-33632

"Chairman for SDS, who teaches a course called 'Conversations About America'".

"The Detroit News"  
Detroit, Michigan  
January 30, 1966

ERIC CHESTER of the U of M and one of the co-founders of the Free University of Ann Arbor, publically identified himself in the spring of 1966, at U of M, as one of two co-founders of a chapter of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), on the formation of that organization at the U of M, April, 1966.

DE T-2  
September 30, 1966

A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America appears on the appendix attached hereto.

The Free University of Ann Arbor is presently inactive with efforts presently underway to reactivate the institution. It had a limited existance during the Spring term, 1966, at the U of M. Its "faculty" was made up principally of "Student Activists" from the U of M campus, principally identified with the SDS, U of M campus organization, or with U of M campus chapters of DCA or YSA. In its operation it had some limited assistance from U of M professors active in organizing Vietnam protest activities at U of M in 1965.

DE T-2  
September 30, 1966

A characterization of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) appears on the appendix attached hereto.

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DE 100-33032

D. May Second Movement

A leaflet entitled, "U.S. Get out of Vietnam Rally", was circulated at New York in October, 1965, which announced an afternoon rally to be held at Columbia University, New York City, November, 1965. The leaflet announces the affair and states "all individuals and groups welcome. For more info May Second Movement 640 Broadway, New York City". The leaflet lists speakers for the event which list includes the name CARL OGLESBY, SDS. Speakers listed include a variety of organizations, including SNCC, May Second Movement, and Vietnam Day Committee, Berkley.

DE T-22  
October 27, 1965

A leaflet was circulated at New York City, October, 1965, announcing a "Rally to kick off Anti-Induction Activities scheduled for November 11, Veterans Day". The leaflet bears in bold print "We Won't Go". The leaflet lists speakers for this rally which list includes the name CARL OGLESBY, President, SDS. It announces the "Topics" to include "Students and the Draft"; "Beating the Draft"; and the "Anti-Draft Unions".

The leaflet is identified on its face as follows:

"For further information on any of the above announcements contact: The May Second Movement, 640 Broadway, New York."

DE T-23  
October 13, 1965

E. National Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)

At a New York meeting of the SWP, November, 1965, it was reported that CARL OGLESBY had signed the SANE "call", which action on his part was considered a compromise

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DE 100-33032

by the SWP and YSA, since he is an SDS leader, his action would be regarded as done on behalf of SDS rather than as an individual, and it was believed that most SDS members would not approve of such action. (U)

DE T-19  
November 19, 1965

At a SWP meeting held at New York City in November, 1965, discussion was held concerning the proposed SANE March on Washington to be held Saturday, November 27, 1965, and it was reported that CARL OGLESBY of the SDS had signed the SANE "call" for this event. (U)

DE T-19  
November 19, 1966

F. Women's International League For Peace and Freedom (WILPF) )

National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act

In material distributed by the Women's International League For Peace and Freedom (WILPF) at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in May, 1966, was included information concerning WILPF's support of the DCA. This material refers to the action of the United States Attorney General in filing a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board as a first step in acquiring the registration of the DCA. The material notes that on April 26, 1966, a complaint was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, in United States District Court, Washington, D.C., on behalf of a number of prominent Americans concerned with the Subversive Activities Control Act and its impact on First Amendment rights. Included among the complainants in this action was the name CARL OGLESBY, SDS. (U)

DE T-24  
June 8, 1966

The formation of an Ad Hoc Committee to support the DCA in their fight against the McCarran Act was

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DE 100-33032

was announced on letterhead of the National Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act in a release dated June 2, 1966. This material identified as plaintiffs in support of the DCA (U) in an action against the Department of Justice in this matter and included among the identified "plaintiffs" was the name CARL OGLESBY, SDS.

DE T-25  
June 14, 1966

A characterization of the National Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act (U) appears on the appendix attached hereto.

G. Ann Arbor Defense Fund

A letter distributed under the letterhead of "The Ann Arbor Defense Fund", Ann Arbor, Michigan, and dated March 12, 1966, refers to court action and reclassification of Selective Service status of various students as a result of a sit-in at Ann Arbor Selective Service Office. The letter solicits support and contributions in a letter signed by 'ROBERT SHORTT, Ann Arbor Defense Fund'. The letter identifies the organization's sponsors and included among sponsors the name, CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS.

DE T-26  
June 29, 1966

The Ann Arbor Defense Fund was formed as a vehicle to propagandize a matter growing out of the arrest of some 39 persons who sat in at the Ann Arbor Selective Service Local Board Office, October 15, 1965, as part of a national event known as the "International Days of Protest". The second purpose of the organization, the Ann Arbor Defense Fund, was to solicit contributions and other support in appeal procedures, both through the courts, appealing resulting trespass convictions on the part of student participants and to finance appeals through the Selective Service System for various students who had their Selective

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DE 100-33032

Service status changed as a result of their participation in this October 15, 1966 demonstration which resulted in their arrests. In the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Circuit Court, where participating demonstrators were convicted, the principles of the "Nuremberg War Crimes Trials" were attempted as a defense for those charged with an illegal trespass. The original demonstrations resulting in these arrests were arranged principally by the U of M campus chapters of the SDS and YSA. (U)

DE T-2  
September 30, 1966

V. TRAVEL ABROAD

CARL OGLESBY complained in 1966 of having been in an almost constant travel status during his Presidency of the SDS. He claimed that his travel expenses throughout the country are almost invariably covered by SDS and he generally did not receive money but was sent tickets for various travel from the Chicago Office of the SDS. He stated regarding his foreign travel, such travel was made by him under funds furnished him by a professors Vietnam protest group, not otherwise described to the source.

DE T-7  
March 9, 1966

1. Visit To Japan

In an article published at New York City, September, 1965, reference is made to a "teach-in" held in Tokyo, Japan, which is captioned, "First Tokyo Teach-In Comes To Abrupt End". The article states in part that a 24 hour "Teach-In" patterned on the American experiment in education was scheduled in Tokyo August 18, 1965, which included Japan's leading commentators, representatives of political circles, on the subject matter of the war in Vietnam. The article states in part as follows: (U)

DE 100-33032

"The debate got hotter and hotter but still seemed well under control. Finally moderator SHUNSAKE TSURUMI, in charge of the first part of the program, called on a 'bearded American' from the audience. His name was CARL OGLESBY, a leader for SDS. (U)

"Upon hearing that this meeting would be held today", the press reported OGLESBY as saying, "I flew to Japan from the opposite side of the earth. The atmosphere is so good that I feel I am one of your friends. I think the way the United States has chosen is very difficult no matter what Ambassador REISCHAUER thinks. I can never forgive what the United States is doing in Vietnam now". He was further quoted by the Tokyo papers as saying, "I went to Vietnam and witnessed an American burning a child to death with his cigarette lighter. I saw napalm too. I was ashamed of myself.

"As he went on the liberal democrats became angrier and angrier. They claimed the moderator 'had schemed it, that the operation was unfair and that it should be stopped immediately'.

"The 24 participating speakers began to shout at each other. The audience then joined in... (J)

"Trembling in excitement the chief producer", according to the Sunday Mainichi, "ordered his man to convey a message to the moderator, 'if this confusion continues we will cut the broadcast'. The moderator intervened, stopped the bearded American and apologized".

The article concludes that the management of the Japanese television channel cancelled the program and went off the air. (J)

"The Militant"  
New York City,  
New York  
September 27, 1965

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DE 100-33032

"A characterization of "The Militant" appears on the appendix attached hereto.

2. Toronto, Canada

It was learned in January, 1966, through the National Office of the SDS, Chicago, Illinois, that CARL OGLESBY at that time had just returned to the United States from an affair in Toronto, Canada, which was described as a "peace committee retreat".

DE T-27  
January 4, 1966

3. Travel To Vietnam

CARL OGLESBY freely discussed his summer, 1965 travel to South Vietnam and states his belief that the United States has been guilty of committing atrocities in South Vietnam. He stated he might enjoy living in an Asian country, perhaps Vietnam, and that he favorably regards the people of Vietnam, both North and South Vietnamese. Discussing United States intervention in Vietnam he has stated his belief that United States financial interests want to keep the Vietnamese war going because of monetary considerations. In his discussions of Vietnam he frequently quotes MAO TSE TUNG, HO CHI MINH, as well as MARX and LENIN. He appears in his discussions to have accepted certain Marxist and Communist principles and appears very pro-Asian and sincere in his professed interest in possibly living there at some future time.

In December, 1965, there was considered several "peace missions" to North Vietnam for contact with the North Vietnamese government on the part of several United States private delegations, one of which reportedly involved SANE. CARL OGLESBY was considered among various individuals as a possible participant in such a mission.

DE T-28  
December 8, 1965

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DE 100-33032

At the SDS National Convention held late December, 1965, a limited participation discussion concerned the recent unauthorized trip to Vietnam by TOM HAYDEN, one of the co-founders of SDS, STAUGHTON LYND of Yale University and HERBERT APTHEKER. It was implied in this discussion that CARL OGLESBY was to have participated in this mission but was unable to do so and, therefore, TOY HAYDEN of SDS participated. (u)

DE T-29  
January 22, 1966

Regarding the proposed "Peace Mission" to the North Vietnamese government in December, 1965, CARL OGLESBY, as President of SDS, was included among those considered for this mission and if participating, was to make arrangements through STAUGHTON LYND of New York City, who was described as handling such arrangements.

DE T-28  
December 8, 1965

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI on August 13, 1953. During this interview, LYND advised that although he had never been a member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus of Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. STAUGHTON LYND further advised during this interview that while at Harvard University, he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He stated that approximately one year during this period, he had served as the Secretary of the John Reed Club.

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CPO-224

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DE 100-33032

"The 'Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications,' revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, Page 10.)"

The afore-mentioned "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" contains the following characterization for American Youth for Democracy:

"Cited as subversive and Communist. (Attorney General TOM CLARK, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)"

#### 4. Italy

An article published at Detroit, Michigan, March 28, 1966, under caption, "Peking Gloats Protests in U.S. Against Vietnam War", refers to various demonstrations held at that time concerning United States intervention in Vietnam. The article states in part as follows:

"Nearly 7,000 persons assembled in Rome's Piazza Del Popolo to hear leftist speakers at a communist-organized rally denounce American aggression..."

"An American, CARL OGLEBY, a graduate of Kent State University and Michigan founder of SDS, an organization of the so-called New Left told the Rome rally that the presence of United States troops in Vietnam is inadmissible interference in the national questions of a country".

"The Detroit News"  
Detroit, Michigan  
March 28, 1966

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DE 100-33032

On March 27, 1966, CARL OGLESBY, President of the SDS, participated in and was a speaker at a demonstration held in Rome, Italy, by the Italian National Committee for Peace in Vietnam. He also appeared on March 29, 1966, at the Brancaccio Theatre in Rome, where he engaged in a discussion dealing with freedom in the schools and in society. (S)  
  
(U) The latter appearance was sponsored by an organization controlled by the Italian CP.

(U) In addition to his activities in Rome, OGLESBY lectured on the development of the peace movement in the United States at meetings sponsored by Italian CP and leftist organizations in Naples on March 31, 1966; in Palermo, on April 1, 1966; in Cagliari, on March 3, 1966; and in Genoa on April 4, 1966. (S)

(U) He arrived in Rome, Italy, via airline from New York City on March 6, 1966, and departed Rome April 6, 1966, via air for New York City. (S)

(U) On his arrival in Rome, he was met by a member of the Italian CP, FRANCO COPPOLA. (S)

DE T-30  
May 6, 1966

#### IV. PEACE CORPS

A source advised in May, 1966, that he had learned from a source he regarded to be reliable, that this source in a personal contact with subject on May 19, 1966, was told by the subject that subject had just returned from Puerto Rico where he claimed he had addressed a group of Peace Corps trainees on the subject of "Revolution in South America" and where he claimed to have been permitted to have established an SDS chapter at the Peace Corps camp in Puerto Rico.

DE T-31  
May 26, 1966

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DE 100-33032

Subject, during April or May, 1966, was known to have visited Puerto Rico, presumably in connection with official business of SDS, inasmuch as to the informant's knowledge all of subject's travel during 1965 - 1966, was arranged by or made on behalf of the SDS organization.

DE T-7  
June 6, 1966

It was learned through SDS headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, in June, 1966, that CARL OGLESBY had been recently in Puerto Rico attempting to organize SDS chapters there.

DE T-32  
June 14, 1966

[redacted] Field Training, San Juan, Puerto Rico, advised on July 13, 1966, that he had determined that one CARL OGLESBY had visited Camp Radly, Peace Corps camp near Arecibo, Puerto Rico, from May 9 through May 13, 1966, at the invitation of [redacted]

[redacted] at Camp Radly. He identified OGLESBY as President of the SDS, furnished a home address of 803 McKinley Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He advised OGLESBY gave lectures during the above period to groups at Camp Radly, representing the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Columbia, Peru and Costa Rica. [redacted] advised he was unable to determine if a chapter of the SDS was established at the Peace Corps camp.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] for the University of Oklahoma, assigned to Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico, on August 9, 1966, advised there were few individuals still with this camp who were there during the spring of 1966, when one of the camp's guest speakers was CARL OGLESBY. She advised that OGLESBY's name had been given to her by [redacted] (b6)  
[redacted] b7C

[redacted] at the camp. She advised that he arrived at this camp on May 1, 1966, and stayed for approximately three days, speaking and giving seminars to the trainees. She said she had no information which would indicate that he had formed a group

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DE 100-33032

connected with the SDS at that camp. She advised that all of the trainees who were located at this camp in the spring of 1966, ~~are gone~~, and none of them are together as a group. / U)

[redacted] Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico, advised on August 19, 1966, that he was at Camp Crozier during the visit of CARL OGLESBY, spring of 1966, and attended several of OGLESBY's speeches. He stated subject talked principally about the work of SDS in community development in the Chicago, Illinois area. He recalls that subject made some comment about having been "framed" by the Chicago City Police Department in connection with an arrest which, according to OGLESBY, was an indication of the success of his group in that area. He advised he heard OGLESBY say nothing which would indicate that any political doctrine was put forth by OGLESBY during his stay at this camp. ( )

b6  
b7C

[redacted] Railway Express Agency, San Juan, Puerto Rico, advised September 6, 1966, that he had material in his office which had been sent by the SDS, Chicago, Illinois, to CARL OGLESBY, Peace Corps, Camp Lawrence Radly, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, and that the shipment had not been picked up by the consignee. He stated that he had received instructions from SDS, Chicago, Illinois, to open the package and communicate its contents. He stated that included in this material was the "National Vietnam Examination." U)

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b7C

Information concerning the "National Vietnam Examination" is contained elsewhere in this report under the IUCDFP captioned, under Roman numeral IV.

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DE 100-33032

VII. SPEECHES OR APPEARANCES BY SUBJECT

A. General Speaking Tour, Summer, 1965

An American participant in a Women's "I  
to Vietnam, summer, 1965, in contact with an offi  
women's peace organization in North Vietnam durin  
referred to the summer, 1965, meeting of American  
(S) North Vietnamese women's groups interested in pea  
Indo-China. In this contact, it was noted that N.  
GITLIN, who participated in the American Women's "I  
Mission" was commencing a tour of the United State  
OGLESBY, wh~~s~~ was described as having visited Saige  
summer of 1965. It was stated that GITLIN and OGL  
were speaking to university students primarily. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b1

DE T-33  
December 16, 1965

B. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 28, 1965

Subject, on October 28, 1965, spoke at the U of M,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan, as part of a panel discussing  
conscientious objectors and the Draft. He shared the  
speakers' platform with PAUL LAUTER of the American Friends  
Service Committee, Chicago, Illinois, and TODD GITLIN of the  
SDS, Chicago, Illinois. In this panel discussion, subject  
stated that one must believe that killing is immoral and  
that in declaring conscientious objector status should  
object to this as his reasons, as well as his religious  
beliefs. He told the assembled group that a new approach  
was being taken to the conscientious objector and that this  
would now be referred to as "Elective Service". He said  
plans were being formulated so that the proper counseling  
could be given those seeking it and there would be available  
ministers from the various faiths to perform these services.

DE T-2  
October 28, 1966

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DE 100-33032

C. Trenton, New Jersey, October 16, 1965

On October 16, 1965, a demonstration was held at Trenton, New Jersey, sponsored by Ad Hoc, Trenton, New Jersey Committee to End The War in Vietnam, whose demonstration was held in conjunction with "International Days of Protest", held October, 1965. CARL OGLESBY addressed a rally held in conjunction with this demonstration and spoke for a change in the American Government's structure.

DE T-34  
October 1965, 1965

D. American Broadcasting Company Television, October 31, 1965

On October 31, 1965, at 1:30 PM, on television station WMAL, Channel 7, Washington, D.C., subject appeared on the program "Issues and Answers". This program was billed as presenting two opposing views of young people in the United States today and featured TOM C. HUSTON, National Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom, and CARL OGLESBY, President, SDS.

During this program, OGLESBY presented the view of his organization which holds that the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam and that we should promptly discontinue our military activity in that country. He said that publicly the position of the United States has been that we are only bombing strategic targets in Vietnam, however, he alleged that it is well known that we have gone out of our way to bomb villages and other targets which have no military significance. He cited, as an example, the alleged wiping out of a leper colony by American planes recently. He went into a long harangue about the use of napalm and other types of bombs and said, "We feel we can raise a good question as to whether the United States is guilty of war crimes."

OGLESBY said that his organization did not encourage the burning of draft cards, but neither did it oppose it. He described the draft card burner as a "moral witness" and said that these individuals were merely acting in

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DE 100-33032

accordance with their own consciences. He said this situation raised a good question as to whether the state has the right to violate the "conscience" of its citizens and enforce criminal penalties against those who destroy their draft cards.

E. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, November, 1965

In early November, 1965, subject addressed a meeting sponsored by SDS and held in one of the U of M dining halls. He spoke on the subject, "The Meaning of Vietnam". He repeatedly stated that one of the principal policies of SDS was concerning "Participatory Democracy", which he described as an independent discussion of the current political and social discussions by a group such as he was addressing on that occasion. He advised the group that SDS now has a broad program in which there has been formed a "National Speakers Committee". He said the committee is staffed by approximately 20 speakers who were about to travel throughout the country representing SDS and discussing SDS policies and peace. He indicated that his prime concern at that time was with such speaking engagements. He emphasized that the purpose was not to create argument or dissension nor to arouse hostility but to independently raise thought provoking questions.

DE T-2  
November 5, 1965

F. National Guardian's Dinner, New York City,  
November 5, 1965

The National Guardian's 17th anniversary dinner was held in New York City on November 5, 1965, and was attended by some 1,200 persons. One of the speakers at this affair was CARL OGLESBY. In his talk he claimed that SDS did not approve or disapprove of communists in their organization. He stated SDS was mainly interested in acquiring assistance and he implied they were not too concerned with finding out if there were communists in the organization.

T-35  
- 39 -  
November 12, 1965

CPO-231

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DE 100-33032

G. New York City, New York, November 7, 1965

A meeting was held November 7, 1965, at the Hotel Woodstock, West 43rd Street, New York City, the primary purpose of which was an attempt to unite those groups currently working independently to end the war in Vietnam. Four speakers representing different groups included CARL OGLESBY, who questioned United States intervention in such countries as Dominican Republic, Greece, Iran, as well as Vietnam.

In his talk he stated that he believed the motivation in such intervention has always been the profit motive. He praised the work of the other speakers at this event and stressed the need to welcome all groups willing to fight for a change in the leadership and direction of the national administration.

DE T-36  
November 9, 1965

H. Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan,  
November 12, 1965

The SDS sponsored a speech by subject at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, November 12, 1965. In this speech subject stated that the United States is wasting its time in Vietnam and that there was no hope of winning in Southeast Asia, because the "political tides" in that area are against the United States. He stated that President JOHNSON is sacrificing the people of Vietnam in order to maintain his "Great Society" and to insure his success in the election of 1968. He added that President JOHNSON is escalating the war in Vietnam to prevent an economic crisis domestically, similar to the one in 1929. He stated he had talked to "GI's" in South Vietnam and that they are aware what has happened to their comrades in battle and he characterized these soldiers as being scared. He added that the Viet Cong controls and freely moves within two-thirds of the area in Vietnam

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DE 100-33032

and that if United States support were withdrawn and American bombing ceased, the Viet Cong would be able to control all of South Vietnam.

DE T-37  
November 12, 1965

I. Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan,  
November 12, 1965

CARL OGLESBY was identified as one of a group of speakers to share a platform at an affair to be held at the Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan, November 12, 1965, in materials circulated at Detroit by the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DE T-38  
November 2, 1965

A characterization of the Friday Night Socialist Forum appears on the appendix attached hereto.

J. University of California - Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, November 16, 1965

An article was published at Los Angeles, California November, 1965, which refers to a speech on the part of the subject on November 16, 1965, presented at the University of California, Los Angeles. In this talk he stated he did not question the right of the State to call its citizens into service. He stated "We question its right to make them violate their conscience". He described alternatives to military service as working to register voters in the South, building a better society in Watts or serving in the Peace Corps, Job Corps or Operation Headstart.

He stated that SDS' efforts to provide the public with more information about the draft arose because the war

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DE 100-33032

in Vietnam presently affects more people than before, and because information about the Draft is poorly disseminated.

University of California-  
Los Angeles, California  
"Daily Bruin",  
November 17, 1965

K. California State College at Los Angeles,  
Los Angeles, California, November 17, 1966

CARL OGLESBY spoke at an affair sponsored by SDS at California State College at Los Angeles, November 17, 1965. He was scheduled to speak on "Students For a Democratic Society Policy on the Draft", however, he spoke primarily of a trip he had taken to Japan and Vietnam at the time of the Tokyo Teach-In and of his experiences there. He stated that the people with whom he had spoken on that occasion expressed anti-American feeling. He said he had talked to some United States soldiers who were Negro and who indicated they felt they should be in the United States rather than Vietnam. He attempted to draw a parallel between the fighting in North and South Vietnam with the fighting between the North and the South in the Civil War in the United States. He stated that the people in Vietnam do not want the United States there and noted that communism is different in Vietnam from that in either the Soviet Union or in China.

DE T-39  
November 17, 1965

An article published at Los Angeles, California, November, 1965, concerns a speech on the part of the subject at California College at Los Angeles on November 17, 1966:

He discussed his Tokyo appearance stating he was proud when Japanese people recognized him and proud he had established the point in Japan that "There are Americans

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DE 100-33032

"who dissent and say nasty things."

California State  
College - Los Angeles,  
"College Times"  
November 19, 1965

L. March on Washington, Washington, D.C.,  
November 27, 1965

The National Anti-War Convention and "March on Washington" were held at Washington, D.C., in November, 1965. On the afternoon of November 27, 1965, various speeches were given at the Sylvan Theatre, Washington, D.C., under what was referred to as the SANE Anti-War program. The most anti-American speech was delivered by CARL OGLESBY, President of SDS. He said he was anti-American. He said he firmly believed that the only solution to the end of war was a drastic change in the total political and social order of the United States. OGLESBY read off a list of purported facts which he said showed every State Department official who negotiated a revolution in Iran, Central America, Latin America, did so with the only intent of furthering the United States neo-colonial capitalistic interests in those areas and allaying the peoples revolution against colonialism which certainly would have come about had not the United States intervened militarily.

He indicated the United States action in the overthrow of MOSSAHASSADEK (engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency, he said) was for the sole purpose of giving American oil firms a hold on the wealth of that country. The same he said was true of the sugar cane interest in Central America and the molasses business of the same area. All the men who represented the United States State Department have since become members of the boards of these large corporations. OGLESBY said everyone should support the people's revolution in South Vietnam and insist that the United States withdraw its troops and permit the people to have whatever form of government they desired.

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CARL OGLESBY said the American Corporate interest, the Establishment, coined the anti-Communist atmosphere and slogans to cloak their neo-colonial capitalistic exploitations of the masses. He said the Establishment continues to spread the so called Communistic hysteria as a means of continuing their control on the wealth of the world.

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The following is the complete text of a talk delivered by CARL OGLESBY at the March on Washington, November 27, 1965, as published in January, 1966, issue of "The Monthly Review":

"LIBERALISM AND THE CORPORATE STATE

"By CARL OGLESBY

"Seven months ago at the April March on Washington, Paul Potter, then President of Students for a Democratic Society, stood in approximately this spot and said that we must name the system that creates and sustains the war in Vietnam - name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it, and change it.

"Today I will try to name it - to suggest an analysis which, to be quite frank, may disturb some of you - and to suggest what changing it may require of us.

"We are here again to protest against a growing war. Since it is a very bad war, we acquire the habit of thinking that it must be caused by very bad men. But we only conceal reality, I think, to denounce on such grounds the menacing coalition of industrial and military power, or the brutality of the blitzkrieg we are waging against Vietnam, or the ominous signs around us that heresy may soon no longer be permitted. We must simply observe, and quite plainly say, that this coalition, this blitzkrieg, and this demand for acquiescence are creatures, all of them, of a government that since 1932 has considered itself to be fundamentally liberal.

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This is the complete text of a talk delivered on November 27, 1965.

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"The original commitment in Vietnam was made by President Truman, a mainstream liberal. It was seconded by President Eisenhower, a moderate liberal. It was intensified by the late President Kennedy, a flaming liberal. Think of the men who now engineer that war - those who study the maps, give the commands, push the buttons, and tally the dead: Bundy, McNamara, Rush, Lodge, Goldberg, the President himself.

"They are not moral monsters.  
"They are all honorable men.  
"They are all liberals.

"But so, I'm sure, are many of us who are here today in protest. To understand the war, then, it seems necessary to take a closer look at this American liberalism. Maybe we are in for some surprises. Maybe we have here two quite different liberalisms: one authentically humanist, the other not so human at all.

"Not long ago, I considered myself a liberal. And if someone had asked me what I meant by that, I'd perhaps have quoted Thomas Jefferson or Thomas Paine, who first made plain our nation's unprovisional commitment to human rights. But what do you think would happen if these two heroes could sit down now for a chat with President Johnson and McGeorge Bundy?

"They would surely talk of the Vietnam war. Our dead revolutionaries would soon wonder why their country was fighting against what appeared to be a revolution. The living liberals would hotly deny that it is one: there are troops coming in from outside, the rebels get arms from other countries, most of the people are not on their side, and they practice terror against their own. Therefore, not a revolution.

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"What would our dead revolutionaries answer? They might say: 'What fools and bandits, sirs, you make then of us. Outside help? Do you remember Lafayette? Or the 3,000 British freighters the French navy sunk for our side? Or the arms and men we got from France and Spain? And what's this about terror? Did you never hear what we did to our own loyalists? Or about the thousands of rich American Tories who fled for their lives to Canada? And as for popular support, do you not know that we had less than one third of our people with us? That, in fact, the colony of New York recruited more troops for the British than for the revolution? Should we give it all back?'

"Revolutions do not take place in velvet boxes. They never have. It is only the poets who make them lovely. What the National Liberation Front is fighting in Vietnam is a complex and vicious war. This war is also a revolution, as honest a revolution as you can find anywhere in history. And this is a fact which all our intricate official denials will never change.

"But it doesn't make any difference to our leaders anyway. Their aim in Vietnam is really much simpler than this implies. It is to safeguard what they take to be American interests around the world against revolution or revolutionary change, which they always call Communism - as if that were that. In the case of Vietnam, this interest is, first, the principle that revolution shall not be tolerated anywhere, and second, that South Vietnam shall never sell its rice to China - or even to North Vietnam.

"There is simply no such thing now, for us, as a just revolution - never mind that for two thirds of the world's people the

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"twentieth century might as well be the Stone Age; never mind the terrible poverty and hopelessness that are the basic facts of life for most modern men; and never mind that for these millions there is now an increasingly perceptible relationship between their sorrow and out contentment.

"Can we understand why the Negroes of Watts rebelled? Then why do we need a devil theory to explain the rebellion of the South Vietnamese? Can we understand the oppression in Mississippi, or the anguish that our Northern ghettos make epidemic? Then why can't we see that out proper human struggle is not with Communism or revolutionaries, but with the social desperation that drives good men to violence, both here and abroad?

"To be sure, we have been most generous with out aid, and in Western Europe, a mature industrial society, that aid worked. But there are always political and financial strings. And we have never shown ourselves capable of allowing others to make those traumatic institutional changes that are often the prerequisites of progress in colonial societies. For all our official feeling for the millions who are enslaved to what we so self-righteously call the yoke of Communist tyranny, we make no real effort at all to crack through the much more vicious right wing tyrannies that our businessmen traffic with and our nation profits from every day. And for all our cries about the international red conspiracy to take over the world, we take only pride in our 6,000 military bases on foreign soil.

"We gave Rhodesia a grave look just now - but we keep on buying her chromium, which is cheap because black slave labor mines it.

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"We deplore the racism of Verwoerd's fascist South Africa - but our banks make big loans to that country and our private technology makes it a nuclear power. (u)

"We are saddened and puzzled by random back-page stories of revolt in this or that Latin American state - but are convinced by a few pretty photos in the Sunday supplement that things are getting better, that the world is coming our way, that danger from disorder can be orderly, that our benevolence will pacify the distressed, that our might will intimidate the angry. (u)

"Optimists, may I suggest that these are quite unlikely fantasies? They are fantasies because we have lost that mysterious social desire for human equity that from time to time has given us genuine moral drive. We have become a nation of young, bright-eyed, hard-hearted, slim-waisted, bullet-headed make-out artists. A nation - may I say it? - of beardless liberals.

"You say I am being hard? Only think.

"This country, with its thirty-some years of liberalism, can send 200,000 young men to Vietnam to kill and die in the most dubious of wars, but it cannot get 100 voter registers to go into Mississippi. (u)

"What do you make of it?

"The financial burden of the war obliges us to cut millions from an already pathetic War on Poverty budget. But in almost the same breath, Congress appropriates \$140 million for the Lockheed and Boeing companies to compete with each other on the supersonic transport project - that Disneyland creation that will cost us all about \$2 billion before it's done.

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"What do you make of it?

"Many of us have been earnestly resisting for some years now the idea of putting atomic weapons into West German hands, an action that would perpetuate the division of Europe and thus the Cold War. Now just this week we find out that, with the meagerest of security systems, West Germany has had nuclear weapons in her hands for the past six years.

"What do you make of it?

"Some will make of it that I overdraw the matter. Many will ask: What about the other side? To be sure, there is the bitter ugliness of Czechoslovakia, Poland, those infamous Russian tanks in the streets of Budapest. But my anger only rises to hear some say that sorrow cancels sorrow, or that this one's shame deposits in that one's account the right to shamefulness.

"And others will make of it that I sound mighty anti-American. To these, I say: Don't blame me for that! Blame those who mouthed my liberal values and broke my American heart.

"Just who might they be, by the way? Let's take a brief factual inventory of the latter-day Cold War.

"In 1953 our Central Intelligence Agency managed to overthrow Mossadegh in Iran, the complaint being his neutralism in the Cold War and his plans to nationalize the country's oil resources to improve his people's lives. Most evil aims, most evil man. In his place we put in General Zahedi, a World War II Nazi collaborator. New arrangements on Iran's oil gave 25 year leases on 40 percent of it to

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"three United States firms, one of which was Gulf Oil. The CIA's leader for this coup was Kermit Roosevelt. In 1960 Kermit Roosevelt became a vice president of Gulf Oil.

"In 1954, the democratically elected Arbenz of Guatemala wanted to nationalize a portion of United Fruit Company's plantations in his country, land he needed badly for a modest program of agrarian reform. His government was overthrown in a CIA supported right-wing coup. The following year, General Walter Bedell Smith, director of the CIA when the Guatemala venture was being planned, joined the board of directors of the United Fruit Company.

"Comes 1960 and Castro cries we are about to invade Cuba. The administration sneers 'poppycock' and we Americans believe it. Comes 1961 and the invasion. Comes with it the awful realization that the United States government had lied.

"Comes 1962 and the missile crisis, and our administration stands prepared to fight global atomic war on the curious principle that another state does not have the right to its own foreign policy.

"Comes 1963 and British Guiana, where Cheddi Jagan wants independence from England and a labor law modeled on the Wagner Act. And Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO foreign policy chief, acting, as always, quite independently of labor's rank and file, arranges with our government to finance an eleven-week dock strike that brings Jagan down, ensuring that the state will remain British Guiana, and that any workingman who wants a wage better than 50¢ a day is a dupe of Communism.

"Comes 1964. Two weeks after Under-secretary Thomas Mann announces that we have abandoned the Alianza's principle of no aid to

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"tyrants, Brazil's Goulart is overthrown by the vicious right-winger, Ademar Barros, supported by a show of American gunboats at Rio de Janeiro. Within 24 hours, the new head of state, Mazzilli, receives a congratulatory wire from our President.

"Comes 1965. The Dominican Republic. Rebellion in the streets. We scurry to the spot with 20,000 neutral marines and our neutral peacemakers - like Elsworth Bunker, Jr., Ambassador to the Organization of American States. Most of us know that our neutral marines fought openly on the side of the junta, a fact that the administration still denies. But how many also know that what was at stake was our new Caribbean sugar bowl? That this same neutral peacemaking Bunker is a board member and stock owner of the National Sugar Refining Company, a firm his father founded in the good old days, and one which has a major interest in maintaining the status quo in the Dominican Republic? Or that the President's close personal friend and advisor, our new Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, has sat for the past 19 years on the board of the Sucrest Company, which imports black-strap molasses from the Dominican Republic? Or that the rhetorician of corporate liberalism and the late President Kennedy's close friend, Adolf Berle, was chairman of that same board? Or that our roving ambassador Averill Harriman's brother Roland is on the board of National Sugar? Or that our former ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Joseph Farland, is a board member of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., which owns 275,000 acres of rich land in the Dominican Republic and is the largest employer on the island - at about one dollar a day?

"Neutralists! God save the hungry people of the world from such neutralists!"

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"We do not say these men are evil. We say, rather, that good men can be divided from their compassion by the institutional system that inherits us all. Generation in and out, we are put to use. People become instruments. Generals do not hear the screams of the bombed; sugar executives do not see the misery of the cane cutters: for to do so is to be that much less the general, that much less the executive.

"The foregoing facts of recent history describe one main aspect of the estate of Western liberalism. Where is our American humanism here? What went wrong?

"Let's stare our situation coldly in the face. All of us are born to the colossus of history, our American corporate system - in many ways, an awesome organism. There is one fact that describes it: with about five percent of the world's people, we consume about half of the world's goods. We take a richness that is in good part not our own, and we put it in our pockets, our garages, our split-levels, our bellies, and our futures.

"On the face of it, it is a crime that so few should have so much at the expense of so many. Where is the moral imagination so abused as to call this just? Perhaps many of us feel a bit uneasy in our sleep. We are not, after all, a cruel people. And perhaps we don't really need this super-dominance that deforms others. But what can we do? The investments are made. The financial ties are established. The plants abroad are built. Our system exists. One is swept up into it. How intolerable - to be born moral, but addicted to a stolen and maybe surplus luxury. Our goodness threatens to become counterfeit before our eyes - unless we change. But change threatens us with uncertainty - at least.

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"Our problem, then, is to justify this system and give its theft another name - to make kind and moral what is neither, to perform some alchemy with language that will make this injustice seem to be a most magnanimous gift.

"A hard problem. But the Western democracies, in the hey-day of their colonial expansionism, produced a hero worthy of the task.

"Its name was free enterprise, and its partner was an illiberal liberalism that said to the poor and the dispossessed: What we acquire of your resources we repay in civilization. The white man's burden. But this was too poetic. So a much more hard-headed theory was produced. This theory said that colonial status is in fact a boon to the colonized. We give them technology and bring them into modern times.

"But this deceived no one but ourselves. We were delighted with this new theory. The poor saw in it merely an admission that their claims were irrefutable. They stood up to us, without gratitude. We were shocked - but also confused, for the poor seemed again to be right. How long is it going to be the case, we wondered, that the poor will be right and the rich will be wrong?

"Liberalism faced a crisis. In the face of the collapse of the European empires, how could it continue to hold together our twin need for richness and righteousness? How can we continue to sack the ports of Asia and still dream of Jesus?

"The challenge was met with a most ingenious solution: the ideology of anti-Communism. This was the bind: we cannot call revolution bad, because we started that way ourselves, and because it is all too easy to see why the dispossessed should rebel.

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"So we will call revolution Communism. And we will reserve for ourselves the right to say what Communism means. We take note of revolution's enormities, wrenching them where necessary from their historical context and often exaggerating them, and say: Behold, Communism is a bloodbath. We take note of those reactionaries who stole the revolution, and say: Behold, Communism is a betrayal of the people. We take note of the revolution's need to consolidate itself, and say: Behold, Communism is a tyranny.

"It has been all these things, and it will be these things again, and we will never be at a loss for those tales of atrocity that comfort us so in our self-righteousness. Nuns will be raped and bureaucrats will be disembowled. Indeed, revolution is a fury. For it is a letting loose of outrages pent up sometimes over centuries. But the more brutal and longer-lasting the suppression of this energy, all the more ferocious will be its explosive release.

"Far from helping Americans deal with this truth, the anti-Communist ideology merely tries to disguise it so that things may stay the way they are. Thus, it depicts our presence in other lands not as a coercion, but a protection. It allows us even to say that the napalm in Vietnam is only another aspect of our humanitarian love - like those exorcisms in the Middle Ages that so often killed the patient. So we say to the Vietnamese peasant, the Cuban intellectual, the Peruvian worker: 'You are better dead than red. If it hurts or if you don't understand why - sorry about that'.

"This is the action of corporate liberalism. It performs for the corporate state a function quite like what the Church

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"performed for the feudal state. It seeks to justify its burdens and protect it from change. As the Church exaggerated this office in the Inquisition, so with liberalism in the McCarthy time - which, if it was a reactionary phenomenon, was still made possible by our anti-Communist corporate liberalism.

"Let me then speak directly to humanist liberals. If my facts are wrong, I will soon be corrected. But if they are right, then you may face a crisis of conscience. Corporatism or humanism; which? For it has come to that. Will you let your dreams be used? Will you be grudging apologists for the corporate state? Or will you help try to change it - not in the name of this or that blueprint or ism, but in the name of simple human decency and democracy and the vision that wise and brave men saw in the time of our own Revolution?

"And if your commitment to human value is unconditional, then disabuse yourselves of the notion that statements will bring change, if only the right statements can be written, or that interviews with the mighty will bring change if only the mighty can be reached, or that marches will bring change if only we can make them massive enough, or that policy proposals will bring change if only we can make them responsible enough.

"We are dealing now with a colossus that does not want to be changed. It will not change itself. It will not cooperate with those who want to change it. Those allies of ours in the government - are they really our allies? If they are, then they don't need advice, they need constituencies; they don't need study groups, they need a movement. And if they are not, then all the more reason for building that movement with a most relentless conviction.

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"There are people in this country today who are trying to build that movement, who aim at nothing less than a humanist reformation. And the humanist liberals must understand that it is this movement with which their own best hopes are most in tune. We radicals know the same history that you liberals know, and we can understand your occasional cynicism, exasperation, and even distrust. But we ask you to put these aside and help us risk a leap. Help us find enough time for the enormous work that needs doing here. Help us build. Help us shake the future in the name of plain human hope."

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The verbatim text of the above speech was reprinted in the January, 1966, issue of "Liberation" in an article captioned, "Let Us Shape The Future". The article identifies this as a reprint of a speech delivered by the subject November 27, 1965, on the "March on Washington to End The War in Vietnam". "Liberation" is identified in this publication as a "monthly of revolutionary non-violence" published at 5 Beakem Street, New York, New York.

A review of the above noted speech of subject's was contained in the March, 1966, issue of "Monthly Review" in an article entitled "Oglesby's Speech", by STEVE NEWMAN. NEWMAN is identified therein as a member of the Progressive Labor Party. In the review he states his intention to clarify and sharpen some of the points in the "basically good speech" CARL OGLESBY made at Washington, D.C.

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party appears in the appendix attached hereto.

M. Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut,  
February 11, 1966

A meeting sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association of Trinity College and a group of students hoping to form a chapter of SDS at that college was held at the Goodwin Theatre, Trinity College, February 11, 1966. The meeting was addressed by subject in a talk entitled "Revolution and Containment". His talk concerned an explanation of the origin of the Cold War after World War II and ended with an attack on United States policy in Vietnam.

The talk was well researched, capably delivered and well received by an audience of some 400. The speaker appeared to be an intelligent idealist who, although critical of United States policy in Vietnam, condemned Russian intervention in Hungary as well. He stated the United States and Russia are cooperating against China and that while United States policy calls for a "free world" it approves anti-Communist dictators in the so-called "free world".

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Trinity College,  
Hartford, Connecticut  
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N. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
February 11, 1966

An article published at New Haven, Connecticut February, 1966, reports that subject spoke on the topic "World Revolution and American Containment", at a meeting sponsored by Yale - New Haven Chapter, SDS, held February 11, 1966, at Yale University Law School auditorium.

In this talk subject stated the United States has failed in Vietnam because of a United States "Asian policy which seeks to stabilize the world in an era of great revolution". He described this policy as an Asian extension of United States policies of "containment and co-existance" with the Russians, which, he said, has beguiled the United States because of the success of this policy in post-war Europe. He was quoted as stating, "Our leaders realize the Vietnam revolution is an internal revolution. Hanoi is recognized as the traditional enemy of China but still our argument is to react according to our European policy". He stressed, according to the article, that the condition of Asia today cannot be compared to Europe in 1946. He said "Europe was not revolutionary, but Asia is. In Europe we don't find racism and exploitation. Unlike Europe no international monolithic communist party exists in Asia."

He concluded the United States must withdraw immediately from Vietnam, make reparations to Laos and Cambodia, promise never again to intervene in a revolutionary struggle and must revise its Chinese policy.

"The Yale Daily News"  
New Haven, Connecticut  
February 14, 1966

O. U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
February 28, 1966

Subject made a speech at Angell Auditorium, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on February 28, 1966, the title of which

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was announced as "American Containment and World Revolution". His theme principally concerned "U.S. imperialism" and the speech repeatedly ran to the effect the United States has no business interfering with revolutions wherever they occur throughout the world. He cited recent revolutions and United States action relative to such events, and consistently criticized United States policy as relating to "domestic revolutions" in other countries. (U)

DE T-41  
March 1, 1966

P. Los Angeles, California,  
March 11, 1966

A Unitarian Public Forum was held at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West Eight Street, Los Angeles, California, March 11, 1966. The guest speaker for the occasion was subject, who spoke on "American Containment in World Revolution". In his remarks he explained the student protest movement against United States foreign policy, representing the point of view of the "new left" in American politics. Subject said United States interference in the political revolutions of other nations is in violation of our own democratic ideals. He said the United States should practice what it preaches and recognize the dignity of the individual and his right to self-determination.

DE T-42  
March 22, 1966

A characterization of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles appears in the appendix attached hereto.

Q. Adrian College, Adrian, Michigan,  
February 25, 1966

Subject participated in a program billed as "Debates On U.S. Foreign Policy" held at Adrian College, (U)

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Adrian, Michigan, February 25, 1966. In this appearance subject restated his well established line of opposition to United States intervention.

In a private discussion following this appearance he acknowledged that while he was an "anarchist, he was against bureaucracy of any kind". In explaining this comment subject said he could not tolerate the "bureaucracy" which exists at SDS headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, and therefore, visited that office as infrequently as possible.

DE T-43  
March 21, 1966

R. 'Cause of the Month Club", New York City, New York,  
May 24, 1966

Subject spoke at the "Cause of the Month Club" at the Washington Hotel, Lexington Avenue, New York City, New York, on May 24, 1966. He said in this speech that more disruption in the country was necessary to stop the war in Vietnam. He said that he was new to the "Movement" and to the organization, SDS, and that he was "feeling his way" with the issues. He said there was a group in the United States known as "Steven Sonial Liberals" who were not willing to put up any real opposition to the Government. He discussed the Michigan political situation where he said the man "Running for the Senate on the peace ticket was further to the right than the regular democratic candidate". He stated that opposition to the war in Vietnam was mounting on the campuses.

Additionally he stated that "Black nationalism was on the rise because poor people were tired of being told what they should want when they are capable of determining this for themselves." He added that the "poor whites" were getting ready for an uprising, because of not being given enough say concerning their needs.

DE T-44  
June 11, 1966

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VIII. PRESS COMMENT OR INTERVIEW

The "New Left Notes" is published by the SDS at Chicago, Illinois. In an issue dated May 6, 1966, appears a lengthy article captioned "Comments on Oglesby" wherein the writer of the article criticizes a report of subject's from Italy which refers to political conditions in Italy. In this lengthy article appears the statement "The fact is that OGLESBY is so anxious to see the left turn that he misunderstands the present basis of the Italian Communist Party's organization.

An article appeared in the "Detroit Free Press" dated November 24, 1965, captioned "Objectors Organize to Battle the Draft". The article quotes subject relative to the SDS "Anti-Draft Movement as follows:

"We don't question the right of the State to obligate its citizens. We do say that the state has no right to violate an individual's conscience. Some people think the war in Vietnam is a good war. They should fight there. Others think they can serve their country better by working in Nigeria, and they should serve there. It is just as risky".

The article states SDS refers to above as "Elective Service" and that people should be given a choice as to how they would like to serve their country.

A feature article appeared in the "Michigan Daily", U of M publication, Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 20, 1966, captioned, "Carl Oglesby". The article develops subject's background and his philosophy. Subject in the article is quoted as saying "Late in the 1950's, something happened, the civil rights movement began. I'm sure that there would be no 'New Left' had it not been for the Freedom Movement. People began discovering you did not have to work with the power structure to change things. Maybe you could do things yourself. The civil rights movement found out that it was possible for a few ordinary people to have a big effect on society."

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In discussing his disillusionment with his employment at Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, where, according to the article, he worked as a technical writer on a Defense Department disarmament contract, he is quoted as saying:

"I started out thinking people studied disarmament because I thought people wanted to disarm. But I found that when the Government talks about disarmament they really talk about ways of increasing strategic advantage over the Soviet Union." (U)

The article states that subject increasingly wrote in opposition to United States foreign policy and in December, 1964, a U of M literary magazine, "Generation" reprinted one of his letters along with one of subject's plays, "The Peacemakers". The article states that SDS members in Ann Arbor were impressed by his writing and invited him to join the organization. The article continues that he was impressed and "started to work on the planned faculty strike that eventually resulted in the first teach-in. He found the teach-in was a 'night of transfiguration.' " He is quoted as further saying "I became convinced that the really beautiful people are now students so I decided to cast my lot with SDS".

This article notes that central to the subject's political thesis is that the United States has to "Stop saying that everyone who comes along promising land, physical and social reform is a communist... The hunger in Latin America begins in the Chase-Manhattan Bank, it is ordinary, old fashioned economic exploitation.... as long as America remains as it is the revolutionaries will be forced into a Communist alignment for we give them no alternatives."

"MAO says the United States will never change. Everything he says is finally proved for the people in revolutionary situations who have an encounter with the United States. We turn hunger into Communism, illiteracy into Communism, nationalism into Communist and social revolution into Communism. The fact is that these revolutions are really not Communist aggression but genuine social revolution and we cannot hold that social revolution down."

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The article continues that "Oglesby's speeches spark controversy wherever he goes. After his first SDS address from the back of a sound truck in New York's Washington Square, last spring, OGLESBY had his head bashed in by a group of muscular young dissidents who did not agree with what OGLESBY was saying or his right to say it, but then there was also the time at Williams College when a battle hardened 60-year old socialist came up after OGLESBY's speech and said, 'Mr. Oglesby, I just want to tell you that you are better than Debs.'"

This lengthy article concluded by quoting OGLESBY as saying, "I happen to love America and I want there to be at least a footnote in the history of the 60's that said there were some people who tried to stop it. I just cannot face the thought of people in Swaziland someday reading the history of the United States in the 60's the way we read the history of Germany, 1930 - 1945."

An article appeared in the "Michigan Journalist", a publication of the Department of Journalism, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated November 11, 1965, wherein information concerning the SDS and various SDS leaders is set forth. In defense of the organization, the article reads in part as follows, attributing the comments to the subject:

"Communist infiltration is not a major threat to SDS, Oglesby said, replying to Justice Department investigations. 'If anybody infiltrates, they will infiltrate open space,' he commented. 'SDS just isn't vulnerable to infiltration or a takeover.'

"Oglesby explained that his organization resists a strong central structure and tight internal discipline that would allow a handful of people to take over at the top and hand down orders.

"Membership is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as means and as a social goal," the SDS constitution says.

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"It is civil libertarian in its treatment of persons with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership."

"Oglesby was critical of the Justice Department and the FBI. 'Apparently, those people don't understand how to deal with an open, democratic organization. If they want information, they get all we have to give by asking questions,' he said.

"He was optimistic about SDS's future, despite government efforts against it. 'I don't think rigidity will set in. When in rough weather, there is a tendency to batten down the hatches. There is no sense of panic, but more a sense of exhilaration,' Oglesby said."

An article appeared in the "Michigan Daily" publication under date February 15, 1966, captioned, "Reclassification of Protestors Helps Their Cause". The article concerns Selective Service reclassification of some U of M students which grew out of a "sit-in" of the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Selective Service Office, in a demonstration protesting United States intervention in Vietnam. The article quotes various SDS leaders and refers to the comments of subject, in part, as follows:

"Carl Oglesby, president of SDS, believes a major reason behind the success of the protest is that the demonstration occurred under 'optimum conditions for change.'

"He said that the peace movement couldn't be more respectable and have better arguments and that the administration couldn't be less respectable and have worse arguments.

"'I think more people trust Benjamin Spock (a leader of SANE) than Lyndon Johnson. At least Spock helped them raise their babies,' Oglesby said.

"'What has happened now,' says Oglesby, 'is that people have said to themselves, "if those rascals are going to start the McCarthy stuff again, well this time we are not going to ignore it and be innocent bystanders." As a

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"result people look for ways to testify their outrage and  
are subsequently open to new evidence on the war itself." (U)

IX. WRITINGS OF SUBJECT

Subject, in April, 1966, made known the fact that his new book, "World Revolution and American Containment" would be published by the McMillan Press. He described the theme of the book as being the same as set forth by him in two issues of the "New Left Notes", dated April 1, and April 8, 1966. He stated that his book would be published by the McMillan Press in a paperback form. ( )

DE T-28  
April 27, 1966

Subject wrote a lengthy feature article which appeared in "The Michigan Daily", U of M, Ann Arbor, October 13, 1965, captioned "A Deed of Violence Against a People". This lengthy article concerns his visit to Vietnam in 1965, and contains his commentary and quotations of his views of people he met in Vietnam. He described those with whom his group met in Vietnam as the apparent leading members of a group of some 150, who were arrested "last February" for calling upon Saigon and Hanoi to make peace.

Material was distributed by the Chicago Committee To Defend The Bill of Rights, November, 1965, in the nature of a "Dear friend" form letter, the essence of which charged the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment were being suppressed by the United States Government. The material makes reference to announced intention of the United States Government to investigate the SDS organization. The material solicits support for the SDS and appeals for contributions to SDS to be made payable to the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. The above-described flyer enclosing a letter on the letterhead of the SDS addressed to "Dear friend", which states as follows:

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"Curtailment of civil liberties is the constant plight of dissenters, especially in time of war. World War I brought to America the Espionage Act, state criminal anarchy acts, jailings, deportations, and the banning of anti-war material from the mails. World War II saw the first Smith Act prosecutions and illegal confinement of American citizens of Japanese descent. The Korean War ushered in the McCarran Act and the McCarthy era.

"Already the war in Vietnam has produced its first Congressional reaction to protest activity -- the draft card burning bill -- and the pressures are mounting daily for everyone to get into step. 'The free and open debate has occurred,' so the theory goes, 'and the question has been decided. There is consensus behind the President-of-all-the-people. Further dissent amounts to obstruction of the popular will.' Yet the escalation of the anti-war protests shows more clearly than ever before just how deep sentiment against the war is running.

"Your support is needed if the right of dissent is to be preserved. Two students reclassified 1-A for participating in anti-war demonstrations...Oakland and Austin refused demonstration permits for students...bill introduced in Congress to authorize HUAC investigations of student groups. How shall we respond? The only rights which people enjoy are those which they use and defend. The time is now. Will you help by sending a contribution?

"Yours for peace,

"CARL OGLESBY  
"Carl Oglesby  
"President, SDS"

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APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM

On May 12, 1966, a source advised that the Friday Night Socialist Forum (FNSF) is a name used by the Detroit, Michigan, Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in sponsoring forums, socials and other functions which are open to the public. Primarily, FNSF pertains to weekly public forums held at SWP headquarters, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, for the purpose of spreading propaganda of the SWP, developing contacts, facilitating recruitment and members into the SWP, and presenting subjects of a controversial nature in the social, political and economic fields. Usually speakers are members of the SWP and they give the socialist viewpoint of the subject discussed. The money collected at these FNSFs goes into the SWP treasury in Detroit.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge", page 6, states that "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIXSTUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY(SDS)

A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously held in New York City. BERLAND reported that one of the four main points taken up in the New York City meeting concerned the SDS and its problems. BERLAND indicated that SDS was weak nationally but some local chapters were strong. It was noted that the SDS has an incorrect political orientation, being too far left on some issues and not far enough on others, and that the SDS does not follow the Marxist theory for the most part. One speaker said that the Party could work through SDS to achieve the aims of the Communist Party.

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.

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"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIXW.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people".

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist", (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 4, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourt Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY

On May 1, 1958, [redacted]  
[redacted] the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear  
Policy (SANE), was interviewed by means of a pretext  
interview at the Office of the SANE, 202 East 44th Street,  
New York City, New York. He, [redacted] advised that this  
group attempts to set up nation-wide policy statements  
concerning the National Nuclear Program and he described  
the SANE as a clearing house for policy statements and  
ideas of all groups working in this field.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR REPEAL  
OF THE MC CARRAN ACT, Formerly  
known as National Committee to  
Repeal the McCarran Act (1963)

The National Committee for Repeal of the McCarran Act (NCRMA) maintains headquarters in Room 318, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in May, 1964, that the NCRMA, formerly known as the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, was the outgrowth of an Ad Hoc Committee of Initiators, headed by Professor CLYDE MILLER of New York, who solicited signatures to a Petition to the President of the United States in 1962, which called for the repeal of the McCarran Act. The NCRMA held its formation meeting at Chicago on May 18, 1963; the stated purpose of the committee is to seek repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended. AC

A second source advised in May, 1964, that the Communist Party, USA (CP) interest in NCRMA has been to give it full support and approval, and it takes the position that the committee composition must be extremely broad and the Party's direct influence must be kept to a minimum. The CP believes the new committee will serve its purpose in fighting the McCarran Act alone and the CP has everything to gain by taking this position. b6  
b7C

[redacted] is not a CP member, but knowingly accepts support and advice from the CP leadership on behalf of this committee.

CYDE MILLER, according to the "Daily Worker" issue of March 5, 1941, was a signer of a statement to the President defending the CP.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which ceased publication January 13, 1958.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan  
October 14, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title                    Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

Character              Security Matter - Students For  
                          a Democratic Society

Reference             Report at Detroit, dated  
                         and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

DE T-4                (Insufficient contact to establish reliability)

DE T-6                (Insufficient contact to establish reliability)

DE T-7                (Insufficient contact to establish reliability)

DE T-31               (Insufficient contact to establish reliability)

DE T-30               (Confidential source abroad)

DE T-33               (Confidential source abroad)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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CPO-269

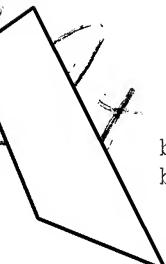
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTING SHEET  
SENT *as per*  
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (100-6774) (RUC)  
SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(OO:DETROIT)

DATE: 10/20/66

Re San Juan letter to Bureau dated 9/6/66.



b6  
b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and Detroit are two copies of a letter from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to REA Express and two copies of a National Vietnam Examination. One copy of each are being forwarded to Chicago for their information.

On 9/6/66, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REA, San Juan, Puerto Rico, furnished copies of a National Vietnam Examination and a copy of a letter addressed to their agency from [REDACTED] SDS.

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b7C

[REDACTED] stated that he had written to the SDS to determine what disposition should be made of the cartons of printed material.

On 10/11/66, [REDACTED] office was re-contacted at which time it was determined that no disposition had been made of this material and no further instructions from the SDS headquarters had been received.

b6  
b7C

No further investigation being conducted in San Juan.

REC-28

105-142056-40

- 2 - Bureau (105-142056) (Encs. 4)  
2 - Detroit (Encs. 4) (100-33032)  
1 - Chicago (Encs. 2) (100-42010)  
1 - San Juan (100-6774)

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261

R. C. S.

AUG 1 1966

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206  
Chicago, Illinois 60612

[REDACTED] Puerto Rico Terminals b6  
b7C

REAA Express  
International Airport  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

b6  
Dear [REDACTED] b7C

We have just received a notice, dated July 21, 1966, of a shipment to Carl Oglesby, Peace Corps, Camp La Guardia, Precibio, P.R., which you have been unable to deliver.

The notice lists SDS as the sender. We have no knowledge of this shipment; Mr. Oglesby is somewhere in Europe.

We would like to request that you open the package(s) and communicate to us their contents, so we can determine whether it should be returned to us. Please hold the shipment beyond August 15 until we can determine the contents and advise you as to the disposition.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]  
b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-1-00 BY SP3-JQ/mw3

#47931 922191/05-142056-40

CPO-271

ENCLOSURE

# NATIONAL VIETNAM EXAMINATION

Distributed by: Students for a Democratic Society  
and Inter-University Committee for  
Debate on Foreign Policy

Instructions: This examination has been prepared to allow you to check your understanding of the war in Vietnam. For each question, indicate the correct answer or correct answers in the space provided. We believe in the importance in a democracy of putting the facts in the hands of every citizen to enable him to participate in decision-making. This is particularly true where the question is war and peace, and where the citizens are the young men who are called upon to fight.

1. The following statements were made by leading figures involved in the Vietnamese conflict. Match the quotations below with the author (more than one quotation can be attributed to the same individual).
- A) "I would like to see American students develop as much fanaticism about the U. S. political system as young Nazis did about their system during the war."
  - B) "For years now in Southeast Asia, the only people who have been doing anything about the little man at the grassroots -- to lift him up -- have been the Communists."
  - C) "The C.I.A. has employed some South Vietnamese and they have been instructed to claim they are Vietcong and to work accordingly... Several of these executed two village leaders and raped some women."
  - D) "Do you think those (American) demonstrations were organized by some fine little social club? They were organized by an international apparatus; 95 per cent of the demonstrators are no more Communists than you and I, but the international Communist movement organized it and masterminded it."
  - E) "The fever chart of every successful revolution... reveals a rising temperature of terrorism and counter-terrorism, but this does not of itself invalidate the legitimate goals that fired the original revolution. Most political revolutions--including our own--have been buoyed by outside aid in men, weapons and ideas."
  - F) "...The Communists are closer to the people's yearning for social justice and an independent life than (my) own government."
  - G) "The major part of the U. S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U. S. training personnel."
  - H) "I have only one (hero): Hitler"
- 1) John F. Kennedy  
2) Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge  
3) Premier Nguyen Cao Ky  
4) Barry Goldwater  
5) Senator Stephen M. Young of Ohio  
6) Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara  
7) Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey  
8) President Lyndon B. Johnson  
9) Ho Chi Minh
- elections are to be held in South Vietnam today. The time at which the elections are supposed to take place
- (A) August, 1945
  - (B) July, 1956
  - (C) January, 1959
  - (D) November, 1963
  - (E) sometime in 1966
3. Which of the following accurately describe(s) the cause(s) of unrest in South Vietnam after 1956?
- (A) Saigon dissolved elected village councils and replaced them with appointed, often corrupt officials, many of whom were not from the villages they administered.
  - (B) Saigon took land from farmers who had seized it during the war with the French (1946-54), and returned it to the former landlords who restored land rents.
  - (C) Saigon cracked down on political dissidents.
  - (D) From 1954 to 1956, the Saigon government gained substantial support and restored the economy to prosperity. Seeing no other way to gain control of South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese government ordered its agents in the South to begin a campaign of terror.
4. Which of the following statements about military operations in Vietnam, is (are) true?
- (A) American counter-insurgency forces arrived in South Vietnam as early as 1955.
  - (B) South Vietnamese and American soldiers have infiltrated North Vietnam.
  - (C) About three-quarters of the infiltrators from North Vietnam into South Vietnam between 1959 through 1964 were native Southerners.
  - (D) In South Vietnam, American guerrillas were active long before infiltrated North Vietnam. American elements joined the fray.
5. According to Mike McCormick, majority leader of the Senate, there are 230,000 Viet Cong troops inside South Vietnam--of whom 73,000 are main force regulars including 14,000 North Vietnamese people's army men. Using these figures, what percentage of the total Viet Cong force is made up of North Vietnamese People's Army men?
- (A) 2%
  - (B) 6%
  - (C) 20%
  - (D) 100%
6. There were approximately 113,000 South Vietnamese in all branches of the Saigon government's fighting forces in 1965. About how many South Vietnamese deserted during the year?
- (A) 57
  - (B) 500
  - (C) 20,000
  - (D) 82,000
  - (E) 113,000

7. The statement below is part of an editorial entitled "What Kind of War is This?":

"It is hard to disagree with President Johnson's announced aims in Vietnam. He has proclaimed those traditional goals for which Americans have always been prepared to fight... yet something new and ugly is happening in the way we fight for those goals. It began perhaps, with the decision to drop bombs and napalm on communist dominated peasant villages, killing and maiming the people we profess to defend from aggression... A Buddhist monastery wrecked by bombs... at least two monks killed, 10 injured... South Vietnamese troops beat and torture prisoners... U. S. Marines, under sniper attack, set a number of peasant villages afire with grenades and flame throwers... In one case, a woman and four children are found burned to death in the wreckage... It used to be axiomatic that there could be no victory in Vietnam without the support of the Vietnamese people... Our commitment to the people of South Vietnam is a commitment to protect them, not to destroy them in the name of the 'Free World.'"

This statement appeared on the editorial pages of:

- (A) The Communist "Worker"
- (B) "The Marine Reservist"
- (C) The Students for a Democratic Society "New Left News"
- (D) "The Saturday Evening Post"

8. American planes on bombing missions in South Vietnam are at times unable to drop their bombs on specified targets. However, before returning to base, they must jettison their bomb loads. They are authorized to drop these bombs in a "free bomb zone." A free bomb zone is:

- (A) Sufficiently far out in the ocean so that noncombatants will not be injured
- (B) An unpopulated jungle area where ample warnings have been posted
- (C) An area in which any structure or movement can be destroyed because the population is presumed to be "hostile" and therefore destroyable

9. The number of South Vietnamese civilian deaths resulting from American and South Vietnamese military operations is:

- (A) 109 (from August 1, 1965 through Dec. 31, 1966)
- (B) about 14,000 in January-February 1966 alone
- (C) none since only "hard-core Vietcong" are killed by American military operations
- (D) probably twice the number of Vietcong killed

10. Chemical crop destruction will have the following predictable effects on enemy-held territories:

- (A) Enemy military operations will be severely hampered by logistic shortages
- (B) Death from starvation will occur--first of all in young children and the elderly
- (C) Adult men are the least likely and last to suffer disease and death

11. The war in South Vietnam is supposed to be part of our policy to contain Communist China. How many Communist Chinese troops are actively engaged in fighting in Vietnam?

- (A) None
- (B) 1,000
- (C) 50,000
- (D) 100,000
- (E) 500,000

12. The American Government's main legal basis for fighting in Vietnam is our obligation under the mutual security clause of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The co-signees of the SEATO Pact are France, Pakistan, Phillipines, New Zealand, Britain, Thailand, and Australia.

Of the approximately 850,000 troops fighting on the side of the Saigon government, how many come from SEATO countries other than the U. S.?

- (A) More than 100,000
- (B) About 75,000

13. The American government often denounces Communist terrorism. This terrorism is given as a reason why the U. S. must never accept a Communist government in South Vietnam.

In recent months, three hundred thousand persons have been slaughtered in one of the following countries, yet the U. S. has failed to make a public statement opposing this violence. Which country?

- (A) North Vietnam
- (B) Indonesia
- (C) Soviet Union
- (D) Communist China
- (E) Cuba

14. Which of the following American military heroes has, in the past, warned against committing a large number of American troops to a land war on the Asian mainland:

- (A) Gen. Douglas MacArthur
- (B) Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower
- (C) Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway
- (D) Gen. Maxwell Taylor
- (E) Gen. James Gavin
- (F) Gen. Omar Bradley

15. One of the main obstacles to negotiations has been the American insistence in Hanoi's insistence that the Vietnamese settle their internal affairs in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Viet Cong). Which of the following points are contained in the NLF program?

- (A) The establishment of "a government of national and democratic union... composed of representatives of all social classes, of all nationalities, of all religions..."
- (B) "Implement essential democratic liberties: freedom of opinion, of press, of assembly, of movement, of trade unionism; freedom of religion without discrimination; and the right of all patriotic organizations ... whatever political tendency to carry on normal activities."
- (C) "Elect a new National Assembly through universal suffrage."
- (D) "Support the national bourgeoisie in the reconstruction and development of crafts and industry."
- (E) "By negotiation and on the basis of fair prices, repurchase for distribution to landless peasants or peasants with insufficient land, those surplus lands that the owners of large estates will be made to relinquish if their domain exceeds a certain limit, to be determined according to regional particularities."
- (F) "Overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the American imperialists..."

16. Which of the following statements about the willingness of the North Vietnamese to negotiate is accurate?

- (A) The North Vietnamese only began to show some interest in negotiation after we began bombing them
- (B) There have been seven documented offers to negotiate by the North Vietnamese since September, 1964
- (C) "I must say that candor compels me to tell you that there has not been the slightest indication that the other side is interested in negotiations or in unconditional discussion although the United States has made some dozen separate attempts to bring them about." (President Johnson's speech, July 13, 1965)
- (D) The North Vietnamese have maintained that any negotiations must include the prior recognition of the Communist Chinese regime by the American government
- (E) The North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front have maintained that the complete withdrawal of foreign troops be accepted as the first step in negotiation, but that such withdrawal does not have to precede negotiations

17. If the approximately \$10 billion the U. S. is expending this year to prosecute the war in Vietnam were distributed equally among the South Vietnamese people, how much could each receive?

- (A) \$85
- (B) \$200
- (C) \$500
- (D) \$850

CPO-273

18. In order to be a conscientious objector (C.O.) to military service in the United States, you must:

- (A) Believe in God
- (B) Belong to a recognized church

F B I

Date: 10/21/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code) *4429*Via **AIRTEL**  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
*WES*  
 FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-15928) (P)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
 SM - SDS

Re Detroit airtel to Bureau 9/23/66, and mylet  
 to Bureau 10/5/66.

Information copies being furnished Milwaukee  
 and Chicago in view of their interest in this matter.

On 10/20/66, [REDACTED] (PROTECT),  
 [REDACTED] Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and  
 presently employed [REDACTED] advised as  
 follows: Note: [REDACTED] may be characterized as a source  
 who had furnished reliable information in the past.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

CARL OGLESBY, past president of SDS, will be  
 "activist - scholar - in - residence" Antioch College,  
 Yellow Springs, Ohio, for the next six months. OGLESBY  
 is presently residing at 221 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs,  
 Ohio, which is in the rear of the newly acquired Peace and  
 Freedom Center in Yellow Springs, Ohio. On or about

- 3-Bureau (RM)  
 1-Chicago (Info) (RM)  
 2-Detroit (100-33032) (RM)  
 1-Milwaukee (Info) (RM)  
 2-Cincinnati

REC-16 105-142056-41

EX-103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2010 BY SP5 SJSGPU/mau  
(9)

C. C. Wick

56 OCT 28 1966

Approved: Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

CPO-274

4 OCT 24 1966

SUBV. CONTROL  
S. J. Low

CI 100-15928

10/27/66, he will depart for England under the sponsorship of the British Peace Committee to debate at the Oxford Union. OGLESBY anticipates being in England for one or two weeks.

Detroit Division requested to immediately submit LHM to include above information, background description, and up-to-date documentation of OGLESBY. Sufficient copies should be sent to Bureau to be sent to Legal Attache, London, to advise proper authorities there.

Cincinnati files contain insufficient background and other information to document OGLESBY.

Detroit Division will submit FD-128 changing office of origin to Cincinnati and submit current report.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056) DATE: 11/1/66

FROM : NW SAC, BUFFALO (105-6575) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CP CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(OO: Detroit)

Rerep SA J. RAYMOND COOGHLAN, dated 10/14/66,  
at Detroit.

For the information of Detroit, [redacted] is  
no longer carried as an informant of this Office. [redacted]  
departed from the U.S. in August, 1966, and it is not  
expected he will return to this country for approximately  
at least one year.

b7D

It is reasonable to assume that if any  
pertinent information regarding the subject came to the  
informant's attention, it would be brought to the  
attention of the Bureau.

- 1d  
② Bureau (RM)  
2 - Detroit (100-33032) (RM)  
1 - Buffalo  
EJT:jny  
(5)

EX-10

REC-10/105-142056-42

16 NOV 3 1966



5010-108

8-1-66 SPSJR/TWB  
447931 922191  
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECORDED

CPO-276

F B I

Date: 10/28/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-33032) (P)

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS  
(OO: DETROIT)

Re Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 9/14/66 and Cincinnati airtel to Bureau, dated 10/21/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above.

Enclosed LHM is classified confidential to protect sources of continuing value to the Bureau.

LHM is submitted pursuant to information and recommendation contained in referenced Cincinnati airtel regarding Subject's intended travel to England. The Bureau may desire to disseminate LHM to Legat, London.

Information copy furnished Cincinnati Division inasmuch as that Division has established Subject's residence there and will assume origin in this matter.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

INFORMANTS

DE T-1 is [REDACTED] Bendix Systems  
Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

DE T-2 is [REDACTED] PSI b6 Memphis Division.

DE T-3 is CG 6893-S\*. b7C  
b7D

DE T-4 is [REDACTED]

4 - Bureau (Enc. 1)  
(1 - Foreign Liaison)

1 - Cincinnati (Enc. 1) (100-15923) (RM)

2 - Detroit (100-33032)

JRC/pjb

(7)

105-142056-43

OCT 31 1966 CPO-277

b6  
b7C

Approved: *RHS*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJ. 922191 447931  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-22-2014 BY SP/RS

Dissemination on back

DE 100-33032

DE T-5 is [redacted] Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor,  
Michigan (Request).

b6  
b7C  
b7D

DE T-6 is [redacted] Antioch  
College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

LEAD

DETROIT DIVISION

Will review Subject's file and submit FD-128 with pertinent serials to Cincinnati to establish latter as new Office of Origin. A current annual report in this matter has just been prepared, and a copy of same was disseminated to Cincinnati.

-2-

4 NOV 1968



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan  
October 28, 1966In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past.

DE T-1, on June 17, 1965, furnished the following background information concerning subject:

He was born July 30, 1935, at Akron, Ohio, son of Carl P. Oglesby, Sr., who was born in 1904, Cowpens, South Carolina, and Mrs. Alma Westling, who was born in 1914 at Richard City, Tennessee. He attended elementary schools at Kalamazoo, Michigan, Akron, Ohio, and attended high school in the latter city, graduating from high school in 1953. He attended Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, from 1953 to 1957, without securing a degree. He subsequently attended the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960 - 1962, securing a Bachelor of Arts degree in English in the latter year.

He is married, his wife being identified as [redacted], born [redacted]

He was not known to have had any military service.

He was employed in the period 1957 - 1958 with Goodyear Aircraft Corporation, Akron, Ohio, and was employed as a Technical Editor with the Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, from 1958 to June, 1965, when he resigned that employment to assume the National Presidency of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organization.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

Classified by 6070  
Exempt from GRS Category X53  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
ECP/C

SPS-JTM-B

ENCLOSURE

CPO-279

8-1-00 447931 122191 105-142056-43

~~SECRET~~  
Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

DE T-1 advised that Oglesby, as of September 1, 1965, continued residence at Ann Arbor, Michigan, at 803 McKinley Street. (u)

DE T-1 advised that the subject, in the period June, 1965, through August, 1966, held the position of President of the SDS organization, headquarters for which organization are located in Chicago, Illinois. DE T-1 advised that during that period, Oglesby was reportedly in an almost constant travel status, throughout the United States and abroad, making appearances for the SDS organization. He noted that despite Oglesby's employment for a Chicago headquarters organization, Oglesby maintained [redacted] (u)

b6  
b7C

"The Michigan Daily", a student publication of the University of Michigan (UM), Ann Arbor, Michigan, is an article dated June 16, 1965, entitled, "SDS Convention Explores Educational Policies", concludes with a statement that at the close of the plenary session of the National Convention of the SDS held at Kewadin, Michigan, June, 1965, Carl Oglesby was elected to the SDS Presidency. The article describes Oglesby as 30 years of age, as a graduate of the UM and noted that in 1961, he was awarded a major Hopwood drama award at the UM. The article also notes that Oglesby was the fifth SDS National President in a row to have been a former student of the UM. (u)

The "Ann Arbor News", a daily newspaper published at Ann Arbor, Michigan, under date June 15, 1965, carried an article entitled, "Three Actions Set in Protest Movement". This article states, in part, as follows: (u)

"Carl Oglesby of Ann Arbor, newly elected president of the national Students for a Democratic Society said in Kewadin, near Traverse City, that the society is considering plans -- including possible deliberate violation of U. S. espionage laws -- to try to force the government to defend its Viet Nam position in court. (u)

Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

"Up to 200 U-M students belong to the society and Oglesby, 29 year-old U-M graduate, said that if the society's council approves the plan, it still would have to be voted on by the group's 2,000 members.

"It occurred to us that it may be a good idea to put the Administration into a trial situation," Oglesby said. "One way would be through a deliberate infraction of the 1917 Espionage Act."

Oglesby said the act forbids the advocacy that a member of the U.S. Armed Forces desert the army or refuse to do battle for the country.

Oglesby added one method of attacking the act would be to distribute pamphlets in or near Army bases urging soldiers to refuse to fight in Viet Nam."

DE T-2 advised on June 15, 1965, that at the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, Oglesby addressed the convention explaining what his workshop had covered. DE T-2 stated that his comments in the address were, in part, as follows:

"Philosophy of SDS involvement in foreign policy issue -- we decided SDS should be involved in foreign policy and given what we want to educate ourselves in this political involvement. We should understand with whom we deal and how they relate to life and politics in this country. We build movements around things that affect people, as with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. To live in the United States now is not to have the opportunity for total involvement in cold war issues.

"Vietnam was thrust upon us and we didn't have time to decide, but South Africa is different, it is our creation. SDS does not want to be in a position where they simply respond to some new outrage of the

Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

"Johnson Administration. SDS should relate to this ferment not by becoming an advocate of the cold war but by turning this into a massive protest movement. SDS must attain some initiative not just react to whims of the government."

Oglesby said there were some who felt "foreign policy for SDS was suicidal, impossible, ridiculous, or all three. While we want to be careful about associating with this or that country we still feel SDS should more closely associate themselves with issues which not only affect us at home but overseas." (U)

"People want to know if it is possible for the American government to make a decision overseas which we could officially endorse." (U)

"People want to know and discuss international communism."

DE T-2 additionally advised that among numerous pamphlets distributed at this SDS convention was a pamphlet entitled, "The Vietnam War: World Revolution and American Containment" which identified its author as Carl Oglesby.

The records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, as of August 16, 1965, reflected that Passport Number F489267 had been issued to Carl Oglesby on June 29, 1965, at Chicago, Illinois. In his application for above passport, he stated his intention to travel to France, the Philippines and Japan, stating the purpose of such travel as "research and pleasure". (U)

DE T-3 advised in June, 1965, that Oglesby, in June, 1965, planned travel on an all-expense paid "teach-in" type tour to Paris, Algiers and Saigon, South Vietnam. DE T-3 confirmed that Oglesby would be at above travel in summer, 1965, and additionally planned travel to Tokyo, Japan, if he made contact with undisclosed sources while in Saigon, South Vietnam. (U)

Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

An article appeared in the "Ann Arbor News", referred to above, under date July 22, 1965, which article reports that Oglesby had returned the previous day from a trip to Vietnam and the article contains his observations obtained on that travel. (U)

DE T3 advised on August 12, 1965, that Oglesby was on that date departing for Tokyo, Japan, to address a Tokyo "teach-in". (U)

DE T-4, a confidential source abroad, advised on August 20, 1965, that Oglesby entered Japan on August 14, 1965, from Chicago, Illinois, and departed Tokyo, Japan, for return to the United States August 16, 1965. This source advised that while in Tokyo, Oglesby resided at the Toshi Center Hotel and identified himself as a writer and as Chairman of the SDS. DE T-4 advised that Oglesby's "sponsor" in Japan was [redacted] Kyoto, Japan, and a member of the "Japan Peace in Vietnam Committee". (U) b6 b7C

An article appeared in the publication entitled, "Asahi" published at Tokyo, Japan, under date of August 15, 1965, concerning public ceremonies at Tokyo, Japan, for the "20th Armistice Day", August 14, 1965. The article refers to various events throughout the day followed by an "all night forum" on the topic of "war and peace", to be held at Tokyo, August 14 - 15, 1965. The article states that this "forum" was to include presentation of appeals for peace by several individuals, including Chairman Oglesby of the "Students Federation for a Democratic Society". (U)

DE T-3 advised on June 22, 1965, that Oglesby, in June, 1965, recognized an invitation to attend the World Press Congress at Helsinki, Finland, in August, 1965, but stated his uncertainty as to whether he would be able to appear. (U)

DE T-5 advised in March, 1966, that Oglesby, whom he described as well known to him, was regarded by him as a brilliant writer and as an "original thinker". He advised (U)

X-REF

Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

that Oglesby developed from a "political liberal" to a member of the "radical left" during 1964, noting that the turning point in this change appeared to turn on the question of United States intervention in Vietnam. DE T-5 advised that Oglesby took up this question as of intense, personal serious concern at that time and deliberately aligned himself as far politically "left" as possible. DE T-5, in this connection, advised that Oglesby, in the fall of 1964, boasted that he had decided to vote at that time for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ticket in the November, 1964, election. (U)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

DE T-5 advised that Oglesby resigned his employment at Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan, summer, 1965, in order to make himself available full time to pursue the question of disengagement by the United States in the Vietnamese conflict. (U)

DE T-5 described the subject as an "atheist" and as a "socialist" and as completely sincere in his dedication toward the principles of the SDS organization. He noted that the subject undertook severe financial sacrifice in resigning his regular employment to assume the SDS Presidency. In that Presidency, DE T-5 advised Oglesby has been in a virtually constant travel status throughout the United States and abroad making appearances for, or in the interest of, the SDS organization. (U)

DE T-5 advised that Oglesby is a brilliant writer and a dramatic actor. He advised that Oglesby is a playwright of some success, having had three plays produced to date. He states Oglesby is largely interested in the Nuerenberg tribunal of history and has developed a philosophy of justifying some activities of SDS along the lines of the "Nuerenberg principles". He stated that along this line, Oglesby holds that a citizen has an obligation to all of mankind, and that such obligation is superior to a citizen's obligation to his own nation when he finds its laws to be immoral. (U)

*[Handwritten signature]*

Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

DE T-6 advised on October 20, 1966, that Subject, past President of SDS, will be "Activist-Scholar-in Residence", Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, for the next six months. Subject presently resides at 221 Zenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio, which is in the rear of the newly acquired Peace and Freedom Center, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

DE T-6 advised that on or about October 27, 1966, Subject will depart for England under the sponsorship of the British Peace Committee to debate at the Oxford Union. He anticipates being in England for some one or two weeks.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~  
Re: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously held in New York City. BERLAND reported that one of the four main points taken up in the New York City meeting concerned the SDS and its problems. BERLAND indicated that SDS was weak nationally but some local chapters were strong. It was noted that the SDS has an incorrect political orientation, being too far left on some issues and not far enough on others, and that the SDS does not follow the Marxist theory for the most part. One speaker said that the Party could work through SDS to achieve the aims of the Communist Party.

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 11/8/66  
Confidential

FROM : *PLW* SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-14700) -P-

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY  
SM - SDS

Re Cincinnati airtel to Bureau, 10/5/66.

Referenced airtel requested Milwaukee to canvass its sources to determine if the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV), presently headquartered in Madison, Wisconsin, was planning to move to Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The following informants, familiar with activities of the NCCEWV, were contacted during October, 1966, and stated that there was no indication that the NCCEWV was planning such a move at this time:

[REDACTED] (X)(u)  
[REDACTED]  
occupied by NCCEWV).

b6  
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b7D

Should information be developed that a national peace center is planned for Yellow Springs, Cincinnati and the Bureau will be advised.

- 805 Techus 447931 922/91  
8-1-00  
3 - Bureau (105-142056)  
1 - (100-444526) (RM)  
3 - Cincinnati (100-15928) (RM)  
1 - (100-15037 - DACC)  
1 - (100-15029 - NCCEWV)  
1 - Milwaukee (100-14700)

GPB:rab  
(7)

105-142056-44

10 NOV 9 1966

Classification Information  
Date of Classification Initials \_\_\_\_\_  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SIMP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 2/21/78 BY PSC

CPO-287

Confidential



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan  
November 22, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

REFERENCE: Detroit report dated 10/14/66 and  
Detroit FD-376 dated 10/14/66.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: 221 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Employment: Activist-scholar-in-residence  
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Copy to BB  
by routing slip for  
 info  action  
date 11-30-66  
by DEPT/ML

105-142056-

NOT RECORDED

18 NOV 28 1966

FD-123 DETACHED

'ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SPS-JD'

44793/ 922191

770EG4 1985

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CPO-288

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile - 105-142056)

DATE: 11/22/66

FROM *W.H.W.* SAC, Detroit (100-33032)

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent OO

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

11/22/66  
*on*

Re Cincinnati airtel to Bureau, 10/21/66; and report of  
SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN at Detroit, 10/14/66.

The captioned individual has been the subject of a security investigation by this office. The  
Cincinnati Division has verified the permanent presence of the subject in its division as  
residing and working at the addresses listed below. The Cincinnati Division is being  
considered the new office of origin.

Residence address

221 Xenia Avenue  
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Business address

Activist-scholar-in-residence  
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Check the following applicable statements:

- This individual is the subject of a Security Index Card. (The Bureau is requested to make the appropriate changes in the Security Index at the Seat of Government. The Cincinnati Division should affix the addresses indicated above and the appropriate case file number.)  
 This subject is tabbed for Detcom.  
 This subject was carried as a Key Figure or Top Functionary.  
 Handwriting specimens have been furnished to the Bureau.  
 A photograph has been furnished to the Bureau.  
 A security flash notice has been placed with the Identification Division and a copy has been designated therefor.

The following pertinent items are being forwarded to the new Office of Origin with its copies of this letter:

- Security Index Cards (3)  
 Serials (specify) (SEE PAGE 2)  
 Photograph of subject (check appropriate item listed below)  
 Negative and three copies of most recent or best likeness photograph.  
 None available.  
 Previously furnished.

Registered Mail

XXXXXX - P -

CC:

Enclosure(s)

- ②-Bureau (105-142056) (RM)  
2-Cincinnati (100-15928) (RM) (Encls. 33)  
1-Chicago (100-42010) (RM)  
1-Los Angeles (100-67470) (RM)  
1-New York (100-156780) (RM)  
1-Washington Field (100-44781) (RM)  
1-Detroit (100-33032)  
JRC/pws  
(9) DEC 7 1966

REC 10 105-142056-45

REX 115 100-156780 Nov 28 1966

CPO-289

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP55-TJWMS

*Blow Hornback TPDOL*  
*SO 7/20/98*

1. Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 6/23/65.
2. Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 8/16/65.
3. Detroit LHM, dated 8/16/65.
4. Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 8/18/65.
5. WFO airtel to Bureau, dated 8/17/65.
6. WFO LHM, dated 8/17/65.
7. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN, dated 10/8/65.
8. Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 10/12/65.
9. Detroit LHM, dated 10/12/65.
10. Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 11/6/65.
11. Detroit LHM, dated 11/6/65.
12. Detroit FD-122 to Bureau, dated 11/30/65.
13. Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 2/4/66.
14. FD-9 from Detroit to Bureau, dated 3/15/66.
15. Detroit memorandum to Bureau, dated 5/20/66.
16. Detroit LHM, dated 5/20/66.
17. Legat, Rome letter to Bureau, dated 5/17/66.
18. Legat, Rome LHM, dated 5/17/66.
19. Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 6/30/66.
20. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN, dated 6/30/66.
21. Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 9/14/66.
22. Detroit LHM, dated 9/14/66.
23. Detroit report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN, dated 10/14/66.
24. Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 10/28/66.
25. Detroit LHM, dated 10/28/66.
26. Detroit FD-366, dated 11/22/66.

Information copies of this letter are being furnished to the divisions indicated, all of which received leads or information copies of referenced Detroit report. Attention of these divisions is called to the establishment of a new Office of Origin for this case.

The Detroit Division at Ann Arbor, Michigan, will conduct the investigation set out in referenced Detroit report.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 12/5/66

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-67470)(RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS

OO: Cincinnati

Re report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN dated 10/14/66,  
at Detroit; Detroit letter to Bureau dated 11/22/66 (FD 128).

[redacted] currently residing at [redacted]  
 [redacted], non-published telephone [redacted]  
 (CONCEAL AT REQUEST) was interviewed on 12/1/66, by  
 SAs [redacted] and [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] stated that he had [redacted]  
 [redacted] in Hollywood, and was  
 seriously thinking about [redacted]  
 "The Hero" at this studio. [redacted] stated that he felt that  
 the play reflected considerable talent on the part of subject  
 and that he would have a great future as a playwright if he  
 could get away from the Students for a Democratic Society.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] received a short note from OGLESBY during  
 the [redacted] in nature. In  
 the Spring of 1966, [redacted] was in telephonic contact with  
 subject relating to his play. He has had no further contacts  
 with subject and had no political discussion with subject  
 during the telephone conversation.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] expects to be contacting subject sometime in  
 the future concerning possible [redacted]  
 play, and will advise this office of any information he  
 receives believed pertinent.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

2-Bureau (RM)  
 2-Cincinnati (100-15928) (RM)  
 2-Detroit (100-33032) (RM)  
 1-Los Angeles

JOS:pab  
 (7)

REC-34

EX-115

5 DEC 8 1966

105-142056-46

SUB CONTROL

CPO-291

8-1-CO 505-JTMS  
44793 92219

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 12/6/66

FROM : Legat, London (100-3937) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

OO: Detroit CI

Re Detroit airtel 10/26/66.

On 11/21/66, [redacted]

[redacted] a confidential source of this office, advised that subject departed England for New York City on 11/14/66 on flight BA 505. [redacted] advised that while in England subject addressed meetings organized by the Communist Party and his visit received some publicity in the Communist daily paper, "The Morning Star".

b6  
b7C  
b7D

3 - Bureau  
1 - Liaison (sent direct)  
1 - London  
ACM:vw  
(5)

REC-43

105-142056-47

12 DEC 12 1966

EX-115

DEC 12 15 30 66  
SUBJ/CONTROLE

Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
by routing slip for  
 info     action  
date \_\_\_\_\_

17 JUN 1966  
123

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-1-00 BY SP-3/JAB

CPO-292

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 12/13/66

FROM : SA [REDACTED], WFO (100-44781) (RUC)

OJ-CI-1/16/67  
See Tbl 1/12

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.,  
SM - SDS

217

Rerep of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN at Detroit 10/14/66;  
Detroit FD-128 11/22/66.

On 12/3/66, SA [REDACTED] caused a search to be made of the records of the Office of Security, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D. C. (WDC). They advised that they were unable to locate any current unreported information concerning the subject.

b6  
b7C

Records of the Passport Office, USDS, were reviewed on August 16, 1965, as previously reported and reflected that the subject has a valid passport F489267, which was issued on 6/29/65, at Chicago, Illinois.

On 11/18/66, IC [REDACTED] reviewed the passport file concerning the subject at the Passport Office, USDS, WDC. The file reflected that the Department of State received a letter on 1/5/65, from the American Embassy in Vientiane, which is quoted as follows:

b6  
b7C

"A thorough check was made of International Control Commission Aircraft movements between Hanoi-Vientiane-Phnom Penh-Saigon during July and August, 1965. No record was found of a passenger named Oglesby."

- 2 - Bureau  
2 - Cincinnati (RM)  
1 - WFO

REC 53

EX-115 105-142056-48

RDA:mmmt

13 DEC 14 1966

(5)

SUBJ CONCEDED  
CPO-293



55 DEC 19 1966

8-1-00 SRS-JC/MB  
922191 447931

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

## CORRELATION SUMMARY

65179 DMH/DF

Main File No: 105-142056

~~SECRET~~

Date: 12/28/66

Subject: Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.

Date Searched: 8/12/66

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Carl Preston Oglesby -  
Carl Ogelsby -  
Carl Oglesbee -  
Carl Oglesby -

*SIMONE*

Carl P. Oglesby -  
Karl Oglesby -  
Carl Oglesky -  
Karl Ogrezbic -

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

PAB:jas

Coordinator*and*Approvedb6  
b7C

information pages 130-131 classified per letter dated 3/12/08

ENCLOSURE  
SEARCH SLIPS ONLY  
105-142056-49

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Classified by 6570 on 4/7/76

Exempt from CDS, Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite

17 DEC 29 1966

EG/AC

*CONFIDENTIAL*

DECLASSIFICATION: 25X(1,6) 8/100 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr. can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary.

SDS.....Students for a Democratic Society

UM.....University of Michigan U

\*\*\*\*\*

RELATIVE WHO HAS BUREAU MAIN FILE

b6  
b7C  
b7D

(S) REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

(13)

~~(S)~~ b1  
b7D

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(S)

(continued) b1 Per Army

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-2- ~~SECRET~~

CPO-295

(S)

(continued)

~~Secret~~

b1 Per Army

Copy of above "call" enclosed  
100-441164-200 encl.p.5  
(8)

The following references in the file captioned "Washington Summer Action Project," (WSAP) a program of opposition to war in Vietnam, revealed that Carl Oglesby signed WSAP flyers advocating peace and indicated that he would participate in the project conferences August 6-9, 1965, in Washington, DC.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-444176-9X p.2	{8}
-15 encl.p.20	{9}
-21 encl.p.3	{9}
-40 encl.p.3	{9}
-85 encl.p.2	{9}
-110 encl.p.2	{9}

OSIAF, Japan, reported that a "teach-in" type television program was held at the Prince Hotel in Tokyo on 8/14-15/65. The program was established to enable pros and cons of the Vietnam situation to be discussed; however, as the program progressed, it took a decided anti-US trend. At the request of a member of the audience, Carl Oglesby gave an address in which he described alleged brutalities he claimed having seen committed by US Armed Forces during his visit to Vietnam. Members of the Liberal Democratic Party attempted to shout down Oglesby and the teach-in broke into a catcalling session. Those opposed to the US-Vietnamese policy gained complete control of the program until it went off the air. (C) (U)

105-148307-2 encl.p.1  
(13)

Para 2 unclassified per AF letter dated 3/12/08

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(105-81388)

[redacted] Carl Preston Oglesby who visited Japan 8/14-16/65 as an officer of SDS. (No source) (J)

b6  
b7C

105-81388-9 p.1  
(14)

[redacted] (protect identity)  
furnished a copy of the "National Vietnam Newsletter" dated 9/9/65 published by SDS. In this edition appeared an article captioned "Special Report: NLF Offers to Negotiate." According to the article, the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy sponsored a three-man fact-finding mission to Vietnam in early August, namely, Robert S. Browne, Carl Oglesby, and Jonathan Mirsky.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The article stated that the mission's purpose was to sound out Vietnamese opinion on all questions associated with the intensifying war. The group talked with former and present officials of the South Vietnamese government, religious leaders, businessmen, students, intellectuals and others; they also believed they made informal and indirect contact with spokesmen for the National Liberation Front (NLF). (J)

According to Oglesby, the two major obstacles to peace so far had been the NLF's requirement that the US must withdraw before talks could begin and Washington's refusal to recognize the NLF as a separate voice in negotiations. The first obstacle appeared to be removed and if the US would remove the second, there might be an opportunity for cessation of conflict. (J)

[redacted] reported that the above three individuals traveled to Vietnam in July, 1965. (b7D)

This serial identified [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Copy of above article enclosed  
105-97460-106 encl.p.1,5  
(11,17)

SI pars. 1 and 4  
105-150190-X

(17) [redacted] (All 3 were members of the Inter-University Committee and Committee paid their expenses to Vietnam)

b7D

CPO-297

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[redacted] b6  
UM, Ann Arbor, (protect identity) furnished a list of national sponsors b7C  
for an international conference on Vietnam to be held at that University b7D  
on 9/14-18/65 under the sponsorship of the Inter-University Committee [redacted]  
for Debate on Foreign Policy (62-110039). Carl Oglesby was included [redacted] (U)  
in this list.

[redacted] b7D  
[redacted] advised that Oglesby was to be a speaker for the  
"Teach-In" seminars there during the period 9/17-18/65. (U)

62-110039-183 encl.p.5,16

(1)

SI 62-110039-190 encl.p.4,22,33 b6 b7C

(1)

supra, b7D

[redacted] protect identity)

[redacted] a freshman, advised that on or about  
[redacted] a meeting was held at the residence of [redacted] a UM senior,  
in connection with forming a committee to support the National Liberation  
Front (NLF). Carl Oglesby spoke to this group of UM students on the  
subject of his visit to South Vietnam, mentioning that he had had no  
contact with the NLF or representatives of North Vietnam. [redacted]  
stated that it was obvious during the meeting, primarily because of  
comments made by Oglesby, that Oglesby did not support [redacted] and that  
Oglesby would not become a member of [redacted] committee which was known  
[redacted] as the Committee to Aid the Vietnamese People (CAVP) b6  
(97-5029). [redacted] continued that on 9/17/65 Oglesby and [redacted] b7C  
[redacted] were scheduled to address a rally (not further identified) on the  
UM campus; however, instead they spoke at the "Fishbowl" where a crowd  
was assembling due to the placement of a sign by the CAVP at this estab-  
lishment pertaining to the war crimes committed by the US soldiers in  
Vietnam. [redacted] noted that both [redacted] and Oglesby spoke as indivi-  
duals on the Vietnam question but not in direct support of the CAVP on  
its sign.

This serial identified [redacted] as national representative b6 b7C  
of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. (U)

Add. info.

97-5029-52 p.25,27,45

(2)

SI 105-147542-13 p.14,16,31

(12)

SI par. 1

97-5029-49 encl.p.6

(2)

[redacted] UM grad- b6  
uate student, 1/25/66; exact date b7C  
of meeting not given)

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A reliable source close to SDS activities on the campus of UM, Ann Arbor, Mich., advised on 10/19/65 that Carl Oglesby had not been present at SDS meetings at Ann Arbor in recent weeks and did not participate in the "International Days of Protest (100-444608) there the previous weekend. (Source not further identified) (U)

[redacted] Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, advised on 10/16/65 that he believed that Oglesby was living in Chicago. (b6 b7C)

100-444608-347  
(97)

A pretext telephone call, on 10/20/65, to [redacted] SDS staff member, at SDS headquarters in Chicago revealed that Carl Oglesby was in Washington, DC, [redacted] to attend as SDS press conference at the Press Club on that date. (b6 b7C U)

It was noted that [redacted] (phonetic), [redacted], Washington, DC, would know where Oglesby [redacted] were staying. (No further details) (b6 b7C U)

Add. info.

100-444608-447 p.2,3  
(97)

[redacted] Transportation Branch, Management Services Division, Peace Corps, Washington, DC, made available a form authorizing round-trip air travel for [redacted] from Chicago to Washington at Government expense during the approximate period 10/19-21/65 at the invitation of the Peace Corps "to confer with recruiting and public information officials on campus activities." She was unable to locate any evidence that transportation expenses had been paid or authorized by the Peace Corps in behalf of a Carl Oglesby. (b6 b7C U)

[redacted] Division of Public Information, Office of Public Affairs, Peace Corps, advised that he had signed the above form in order that [redacted] might attend a meeting in Washington sponsored by the Peace Corps on 10/20/65. He stated that [redacted] position in the SDS was the primary reason for his invitation to the meeting. Carl Oglesby was one of three others invited because of their organizational affiliations. [redacted] stated that these four invitees (b6 b7C U)

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CPO-299

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attended a forum (date not given) which was also attended by eight or ten members of the Peace Corps. [redacted] believed that Oglesby paid his own expenses on the trip to Washington. (J)

b6  
b7C78-73-5 encl.p.2,3,4  
(2)

The November, 1965, edition of the "Bulletin of the World Council of Peace," (100-361031) page 1, featured an article captioned "100,000 demonstrate in 100 US cities." The article listed Carl Oglesby among the sponsors of an anti-Vietnam march on Washington on 11/27/65. (J)

100-361031-966 p.5  
(2)

An SA furnished a leaflet entitled "Rally to Kick-Off National Anti-Induction Activities, November 11, Veterans Day," sponsored by the May 2 Movement (100-441874) to be held at Columbia University.\* Carl Oglesby was listed thereon as a speaker. (J)

The above information was made available in a letterhead memo enclosed with a NY airtel dated 10/26/65. (J)

100-441874-195 encl.p.3  
(8)

\*NYC

The following references in the file captioned "March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam, Washington, DC, 11/27/65" indicated that Carl Oglesby was a sponsor of and a speaker at this event. He was characterized in June, 1965, as a "modern day Saul" completely dedicated to the SDS. His plans to visit Saigon, Vietnam, (date not given) and his determination to address Congress in the Fall of 1965, although it meant arrest, were mentioned. He was also criticized for being too intellectual. (J)

## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-444664-25 encl.p.2	(10)
-30 encl.p.1	(10)
-40 encl.p.10	(10)
-223 encl.p.20	(10)
-272 encl.p.5	(10)
-312 encl.p.13	(10)

CPO-300

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[redacted] advised on 12/1/65 that on 11/27/65 during the "National Anti-War Convention, Washington, DC 11/25-28/65" (100-444815), b7D Carl Oglesby spoke at the Sylvan Theater, delivering the most anti-American speech made at that time (details set out). The chairman of the SANE program at the theater was careful not to introduce Oglesby until after the news and television cameramen had departed, and it was evident to informant that SANE and at least eighty per cent of the patrons agreed with Oglesby. According to informant, copies of this speech would be printed and made available to the public.

The above informant furnished the names of individuals observed during the convention and also the march around the White House. (sic) Among these was Carl Oglesby.

It was noted that the march was held on 11/27/65.

The same informant stated that the staff of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam was composed of persons who were active members of the SDS such as Oglesby.

100-444815-97 encl.p.9  
(10)

On 12/28/65, [redacted] PSI-NYO, (protect identity) advised that the [redacted]

[redacted] informed his government that the Negro-American Journalist, (105-20110), had met with him concerning the possibility of sending a "Mission of Peace and Liberty" to Cambodia to make some "on the spot" inspections and to publicly denounce the "false accusations" which alleged that Cambodia was a Vietcong sanctuary and the site of Vietcong infiltrations. [redacted] had suggested several individuals to be included in the mission. Among these was Carl Oglesby, who was strongly against the war. [redacted] had indicated that he was personally acquainted with most of the individuals he suggested.

105-20110-501 encl.p.2  
(11)

b1  
b7D

(S) [redacted] reported that Herbert Aptheker (100-123974), Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies, NYC, Carl Oglesby and Professor Staughton of Yale University, New Haven, Conn., were leaving by plane on 12/18/65 for Prague, Czechoslovakia. They planned to stay in Prague about two days and then travel to Hanoi, North Vietnam.

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b7D

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CPO-301

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via Brussels, Belgium. This informant could furnish no additional information (X)(S) ✓

100-123974-524 encl.p.1  
(2)

In connection with the above, a letter dated 1/10/66 from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley to the Director referred to the proposed trip of Carl Oglesby and others to North Vietnam and indicated that newspaper articles had verified the arrival of the three in North Vietnam. (X) ✓

The letter stated that the State Department had forwarded the cases for prosecutive action. The letter thereby requested an appropriate investigation and also questioned the basis of the above informant's knowledge of the trip. (X) ✓

100-123974-539 p.1  
(2)

The following references set out meetings of CP related organizations at which Carl Oglesby spoke or was scheduled to speak.

DATE	LOCALITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
<u>"National Guardian"</u>			
11/5/65	NYC	100-357044-708 p.19	(2)
<u>SDS and Student Committee for Peace in Vietnam (a subcommittee of SDS)</u>			
10/15/65	Philadelphia, Pa.	100-444608-480 encl.p.8,15	(10)
<u>SDS</u>			
11/17/65	Los Angeles	100-438321-25 p.17 100-444968-2 p.6	(3) (10)
<u>SDS</u>			
1/14/66 (potential speaker)	Chicago	62-109119-1718 encl.p.2	(1)

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CPO-302

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(continued)

DATE	LOCALITY	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
<u>Voice Political Party</u> <u>(affiliate of SDS)</u>			
On or about 9/24/65	Ann Arbor, Mich.	97-5029-42 encl.p.5	(2)
<u>Voice Political Party</u>			
11/22/65 (potential speaker)	Ann Arbor, Mich.	[redacted]	b7D (13)
11/23/65		-7	(13)

On 3/2/66, [redacted] Panel Source, (protect identity) b6 furnished a printed brochure of the Free University at Ann Arbor b7C (100-445323), Mich., which set out a list of associates. This list included the name of Carl Ogelsby. b7D

On 2/7/66, after reviewing the names on the above list, [redacted] PSI, (protect identity) stated that he knew of no subversive connections or activities of Ogelsby. He stated that he recognized the names as being those of professors, students and former students who had been publicly identified as active in various activities directed against US involvement in Vietnam and protesting the draft. Source noted that Ogelsby was known to him as President of SDS. Source attributed the formation of the Free University to a small group of "hard core activists" who had made their presence known in student protest groups and activities on the UM campus.

100-445323-2 encl.p.5,6  
(16)

The following references indicated that Carl Oglesby spoke or planned to speak at meetings or demonstrations of various peace groups as set out below at which the US involvement in Vietnam was protested.

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT	LOCALITY	REFERENCE AND SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
8/5/65	Speaker at rally held by the Chicago Peace Council.	Chicago	100-444394-1 (9) encl.p.2

(continued)

CPO-303

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DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT	LOCALITY	REFERENCE AND SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
10/15/65	Scheduled speaker at "speak-out" sponsored by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam.	Philadelphia	100-444608-313 (9) encl.p.6 (1)
10/16/65	Speaker at rally of Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam.	Trenton, NJ	-340 (9) encl.p.8 100-444608-359 (1)
3/27/66	Speaker at demonstration sponsored by the Italian Committee for Peace and Liberty in Vietnam.	Rome, Italy	-451 (10) encl.p.5 100-445310-371 (11) encl.p.3 (1)

(S)

tity)

(protect iden-

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b7D

b7D

(Notations set out) (S)

105-128855-22 encl.p.1  
(14)

CPO-304

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The March-April, 1966 issue of "American Dialog" (AD) (100-354634) contained a series of articles called a "debate based on Sidney Finkelstein's book 'The Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature.'" Among the contributors was Carl Oglesby, described by AD as SDS President.

100-354634-207 p.17  
(27)

[redacted] University b6  
of Rochester, (protect identity) advised that the University of Rochester b7C Committee for Debate on US Foreign Policy (100-401425) sponsored an b7D open hearing on US foreign policy in Vietnam held at the University campus on 3/22-23/66. It was announced at the beginning of the hearing that Carl Oglesby was ill and being replaced on the program. It was mentioned that Oglesby, if well, would be in the NY State area on 4/21/66 and possibly would visit that University.

100-401425-2 encl.p.1  
(37)  
SI 105-151343-4 encl.p.2  
(13) (Oglesby scheduled to speak)

On 5/22/66, [redacted] Confidential Source, (protect identity) furnished a copy of the National Vietnam Examination which indicated that it was prepared by the SDS, Vietnam Exam Committee, Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and numerous authorities on Vietnam, which category included Carl Oglesby. The test was a series of quotations by various public figures and background concerning the Vietnamese War. It listed source material and afforded the individual an opportunity to join the SDS and organize nationwide opposition to the Vietnam War.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

100-442367-33 encl.p.4  
(87)

The "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper published at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, in its issue of 5/24/66, carried an article by Kathleen Frankovic which indicated that Carl Oglesby shared the speaker's platform at a lecture in Bailey Hall on 5/23/66 with Thich Nhat Hanh (105-153827). Hanh spoke out against the continuation of any struggle in Vietnam.

b7C

105-153827-12 encl.p.1  
(27)

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The records of the Clerk of the US District Court for the District of Columbia revealed that Civil Action number 1087-66 was filed on 4/26/66. The action was a Complaint for Declaratory Judgment and Injunctive Relief filed by the plaintiffs' attorneys. The plaintiffs included several branches of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (100-441164-53) and numerous individuals, one of whom was Carl Oglesby. Defendants named in the action were Nicholas deB Katzenbach, Attorney General (AG) of the US, and several members of the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) in Washington, DC.

The plaintiffs sought interlocutory and permanent injunctions restraining the AG and SACB from proceeding with hearings and other procedures affecting the organizational plaintiffs pursuant to a section of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as amended (McCarran Act) and requested that a three-judge court be convened to hear the issues raised in the complaint. The plaintiffs declared that the so-called "Communist-front" provisions of the above section were void and illegal and violated the Constitution of the US.

100-441164-53-27 encl.p.1  
(8)

In reference to the above Civil Action, on or about 5/9/66 the defendants filed a Memorandum of Points and Authorities in Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion to Convene a Three-Judge Court and in Support of Defendants' Motion to Dismiss, as to fourteen of the twenty-six plaintiffs.

One of the fourteen plaintiffs was Carl Oglesby. (Defendant's argument set out)

On or about 5/27/66 the plaintiffs filed a reply claiming that a three-judge statutory court was necessary.

The SACB denied the motion to dismiss but exercised its discretion to refrain from going forward with the hearing until the court had ruled on whether a preliminary or interlocutory injunction should issue to enjoin the Board proceeding or, if a three-judge court was not convened, to allow a reasonable time for possible application to the appropriate tribunal for an order staying the Board proceeding.

100-441164-53-31 encl.p.1  
(8)

CPO-306

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The following references in the file captioned "Demonstrations Protesting US Intervention In Vietnam" set out the activities of Carl Oglesby in this connection during the period 5/8/65 to June, 1966. Oglesby, who became SDS President in June, 1965, was a frequent speaker before protest groups criticizing US involvement in Vietnam. He spoke in various localities throughout the US and in Rome, Italy, as well as on television. These appearances were sponsored by such organizations as the SDS, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He also signed a call for a Congress of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam to be held in Washington, DC, which was sent out by the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. Further, he was scheduled to appear at an unofficial public hearing on Vietnam in Detroit. In addition, he was sent to Southeast Asia by the Inter-Universities Committee in Ann Arbor, Mich., to report on the Vietnam War, and he made contacts in Japan and France who urged the organization of an International Student Strike in December, 1965.

## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-138315-510 p.3	{ 17 }
-684 p.3 encl.p.2	{ 17 }
-1235 p.3	{ 11 }
-1303 encl.p.5	{ 11 }
-1349 encl.p.1	{ 11 }
-1611 encl.p.1-3	{ 11 }
-1664 encl.p.2	{ 11 }
-1792 encl.p.4	{ 11 }
-1796 encl.p.194	{ 11 }
-2021 encl.p.4	{ 11 }
-2439 encl.p.1	{ 12 }
-2671 encl.p.1-4	{ 12 }
-2698 p.1	{ 12 }
-2970 p.126	{ 12 }
-2988 p.130	{ 12 }
-3078 p.47	{ 12 }
-3132 p.234,237	{ 12 }
-3206 p.1 encl.p.1	{ 12 }
-3214 p.178	{ 12 }

The "New York Times" dated 6/10/66, page M-1, set out an article by Paul Hofmann captioned "A New Left Group To Back Militants at November Polls." The article indicated that the new group was headed National Conference for New Politics (62-110985) and was made up of

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## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-463 encl.	{ 4+
-493	4+
-500	14+
-519 p.1-3,5 encl.p.1-3	4+
-527 p.55-57,76,77F,93,121	4+
-561 p.4,5	4+
-562 encl.p.1	4+
-571 p.6,10,12	4+
-574 p.2	4+
-603 encl.p.12,20,32	4+
-615 p.8,33,52,64	5+
-631 encl.p.1	5+
-647 encl.p.2	5+
-667	5+
-688 p.13,14,37,38,48,53	5+
-728 p.10,32,39,46,47,51,54,93	5+
-757 encl.	5+
-769 p.1,2	5+
-777 p.13,19,21	5+
-788 p.1	5+
-821 p.1,2 encl.p.1,2	5+
-827 p.2 encl.p.5	16+
-860 p.B,44	6+
-861 encl.p.2	6+
-897	6,77+
-908 p.2	6+
-926 p.2-9,encl.p.1	6+
-992 encl.p.4	6+
-999 p.5,23	15+
-1004 p.5,9,21,22,26,27,48	6+
-1017 p.1 encl.p.1,2	6+
-1021 p.35,51,53	7+
-1022 p.20,21,28,40	7+
-1042 p.1 encl.p.1,2	7+
-1049 p.50	7+
-1120 p.1	7+
-1165 p.6,22	7+
-1231 p.18,34,38,76	16+
-1301 p.4,8,9,20,23	7+
-1322 p.13,16,17	7+
-1351 p.7-9,26,28,32,40,64	{ 7,14+
-1354 encl.p.8	(7+)

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civil rights and antiwar militants. The article stated that students were the backbone of the antiwar movement. Carl Oglesby described the mood on the radical students' fringe as follows: "It turns quickly from excitement to frustration and despair. The students are ready to rush to the barricades; the trouble is they don't know where the barricades are." The article continued that Oglesby, being similar to a "peacenik," toured Italy in March as a guest of a committee comprising communists and left-wing Socialists. (U)

62-110985-A  
"New York Times" 6/10/66  
(17)

[redacted] under consideration for development as a PSI, (protect identity) advised that Carl Oglesby and an unidentified individual were members of the Committee for Non-Violent Action which was planning a "march" on the Badger Munitions Plant, Baraboo, Wisconsin, on 6/17/66. (U)

"New Left Notes," a weekly publication of the SDS, on 6/30/66 listed Carl Oglesby as President of the SDS.

62-0-68689 encl.p.1  
(17)

The following references in the file captioned "Communist Infiltration of SDS" set out the activities of Carl Oglesby from 5/8/65 to 6/19/66. He was elected president of that organization on 6/14/65. His activities pertained primarily to speaking before college groups throughout the US. (U)

## REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-320 p.1	(16+)
-323 encl.p.3	{3+}
-330 encl.p.9	{3+}
-332	{16+}
-336 encl.	{3+}
-337 encl.p.12, 27, 28, 46	{3+}
-358 encl.p.2, 4, 8	{3+}
-375 p.1, 4, 5, 46	{3+}
-396 p.1-3 encl.p.1-3	{3+}
-451 encl.p.2	{4+}

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CPO-309

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REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-439048-1378 p.2,6,7,15,16	{ 7
-1384 p.13,15-17,62,76,100	{ 8
-1408 p.12,13	{ 8
-1413 p.21	{ 8
-1437 enc1.p.2,6,13,33	{ 8
-1473 p.8	{ 8

The following references on Carl Oglesby located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were reviewed and found to be identical with the subject of this summary; however, the information contained therein has not been included:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-428091-5284 p.1	{ 3
-5287	{ 3

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## REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references were not available during the time this summary was being prepared:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-439048-845 p.9,15,17,24,29,30,35, 53,61	(6)
-846	(6)

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CPO-310

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Differences in source will be noted on the search slip.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 1/12/67

FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-15928)(C)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM-SDS

Re report of SA J. RAYMOND COGHLAN, 10/14/66,  
at Detroit, and WFO letter to Director, dated 12/13/66.

In view of the fact no further investigation  
warranted in this matter at this time, this case is  
being placed in a closed status in accordance with manual  
of instructions, section 87d, page 59, VII.

All appropriate sources, Yellow Springs, Ohio  
area have been alerted to Bureau's interest in subject.  
These sources are contacted on a regular basis, and in  
the event additional pertinent subversive information  
developed, this case will be reopened and appropriate  
investigation conducted.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Cincinnati

GPU/blh  
(3)

EX-108

REC-43

105-142056

50

JAN 16 1967

8-1-00 SPS JCS TMB  
447931 922191

CPO-312



J.S.B.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-02

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 12-21-2011

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : Director, FBI (105-142056)

DATE: 2/2/67

FROM *JN* Legat, London (100-3937) (RUC)

SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
SM - SDS

OO: Detroit *ReLonlet*

ReLonlet 12/6/66.

(C)

b1  
b7D

*ROUTING*  
**ENCLOSURE**

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)  
1 - Liaison (sent direct) (Enc. 1)  
1 - London  
ACM:vw  
(5)

4409318-1-00  
922191

REC-25 105-142056-52  
FEB 6 1967

FEB 8 200 BH 81

BUREAU DIA  
FEB 8 1967

SUBJ. CONTROL



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEB 14 1967

R.M.H./JL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPO-314



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 2, 1967

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

T-1, a confidential source abroad, advised on January 26, 1967, that OGLESBY arrived at London Airport from New York on October 25, 1966 and departed London Airport for New York on November 14, 1966. ~~(S)~~

(U) ~~1-13-05 UC 65129 DM4/HK9/08~~  
(U) 1-13-2030  
(U) 6  
  
(U) C/A # 02-06-03  
  
(U) Classified by 6570 Exempt from GDS, category 153  
  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

T-1 further advised that OGLESBY visited the United Kingdom at the invitation of the British Peace Committee. The "Morning Star" dated October 17, 1966, contained the following notice: -~~(S)~~

"London: Carl OGLESBY, U.S. student speaks on Vietnam Nov. 1, Mahatma Gandhi Hall, (B.P.C. and supporting organisations)."~~(S)~~

The District Bulletin of the Surrey District of the Communist Party of Great Britain, dated October 7, 1966, published the fact that OGLESBY would speak at meetings in Kingston and Croydon, England on October 31, 1966. ~~(S)~~

The "Morning Star" (official newspaper of the Communist Party of Great Britain) dated October 27, published a two-column item about OGLESBY, and in the same issue there was a notice about a speech which he was scheduled to make in Glasgow, Scotland, on November 6, 1966. ~~(S)~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROSS
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

EC / PC

~~ENCLOSURE~~

922191 44773 6 8-1-60

105-142056-52

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 12-21-2011

F B I

Date: 4/28/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~Via AIRTEL DATE: 1-13-2005CLASSIFIED BY 2AP 1675 DMH/JMK/105 (Priority)DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3.3(1) 1-13-2030CA# 02-0603

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
 FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-15928) (P)  
 SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
 SM-SDS

O.G.A Info Remains Derivative  
classified per LTR DTd 11-27-06 b6 b7C  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/DC/TMK 6/26/06  
DECLASSIFICATION: 25X  
447931 922191 8-1-0

(S)

b1

(S)

Subject interviewed 4/19/67 to determine whereabouts of WILLIAM ALLEN HARTZOG, a Bureau fugitive, who resided with subject during the early part of 3/67. During interview, subject voluntarily advised he was departing for Boston on 4/20/67 and from there, will go to Europe to write a book. Subject did not volunteer where in Europe, or elaborate on the book he was going to write. Subject did state however, that his wife was staying in Yellow Springs and would know his itinerary and whereabouts in the event the FBI had further questions to ask him.

On 4/21/67, [REDACTED] (source - protect), advised she heard subject was going to Boston and from there to Europe. [REDACTED] stated that the subject is

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 3 Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Boston (Enc.2) (RM)  
 2 - WFO (Enc.1) (RM)  
 3 - Cincinnati (2 - 100-15928)

REC-14

105-142056-53

(1 - [REDACTED]) ST-108

b7D

3 MAY 2 1967

GPU/mjv  
(10)~~SECRET~~

Approved:

1967

SECRET at in Charge

Sent

Central Per

SUBJ CONTROL

CPO 316

~~SECRET~~

SI (100-15928)

close to one [redacted] who allegedly resides in the Boston area and possibly the subject is staying with him, although she has no information to base this upon. Allegedly [redacted] in past, has been to Red China and has made statements to the effect that Negroes should secede from the union.

b6  
b7C

(S)

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b1

b7D

It is to be noted that recent newspaper articles indicate France will not allow War Crimes Tribunal to be held in their country. *(S)*

For the information of receiving offices, subject past president of SDS and currently on Cincinnati SI list. Subject described as follows:

Race:	White
Sex:	Male
DOB:	7/30/35
POB:	Akron, Ohio
Height:	6'1"
Weight:	165 lbs.
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Blue
Characteristics:	Mustache and beard

LEADS:

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Will discreetly, through appropriate informants and sources, determine ~~whereabouts~~ of subject in Boston or Europe. Consider the possibility subject may be residing with one [redacted] who allegedly resides in the Boston area.

b6  
b7C

CPO-317

~~SECRET~~

CI (100-15928)

WFO

~~SECRET~~

AT WFO

Will review passport records to determine destination of subject in Europe. WFO will note "War Crime Tribunal" is not now being held in France. Also note on 6/29/65, passport #F489267 was issued to CARL OGLESBY at Chicago, Illinois.

CINCINNATI

AT YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Through sources, will attempt to determine subject's destination in Europe.

Will submit LHM regarding subject's proposed trip to Europe.

~~SECRET~~

WT

F B I

Date: 5/9/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
 FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (RUC)  
 SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
 SM - SDS

0-1 CI 5/31/67  
 LHM re travel  
 (8)

Re Cincinnati airtel dated 4/28/67.

Enclosed herewith for Detroit are the following:

1. Cincinnati airtel to Director dated 4/28/67.
2. Cincinnati letter to Director dated 3/27/67/  
(Xerox copy)
3. Photograph of the subject dated 6/28/65.

5/31/67  
 0-1-2 (re b7D)  
 To Cincinnati  
 [redacted] under development for PSI purposes  
 (conceal identity), advised on 5/9/67, that she had been  
 assisting in preparing mail for mailing at the Vietnam Summer  
 Project Office, 129 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts,  
 [redacted] While in conversation with [redacted]  
 described [redacted] as a [redacted] ascertained that  
 subject is at the Radical Education Project (REP) at Ann  
 Arbor, Michigan.

b6  
 b7C  
 b7D

Detroit alert sources to determine if OGLESBY  
 still at REP.

Boston has alerted its sources and will advise if any  
 information is developed REC 20

3-Bureau (105-142056) (RM)  
 2-Cincinnati (100-15928) (RM)  
 2-Detroit (Encs. 3) (RM)  
 1-Boston (100-37094)

105-142056-54

14 MAY 10 1967

RHB:mac  
 (8)

EX-109

CPO-319

G.R. Newell  
 [Signature]

Approved: [Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

SUBJ: 8-1-67

F B I

Date: 5/19/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL 95/22  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-142056)  
 FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-37094) (RUC)  
 SUBJECT: CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.  
 SM - SDS

Re Boston airtel dated 5/9/67.

[redacted] (conceal - under development for  
 PSI purposes) advised on 5/19/67 that she ascertained  
 from [redacted] SDS

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] that CARL OGLESBY is currently in  
 New York City visiting relatives but within a week or  
 so, would be back in Cambridge, Mass., "with us."

[redacted] secured this information [redacted] at  
 a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Vietnam Summer  
 Project, 129 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass. [redacted]  
 is a member of the Steering Committee of the Summer Project.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Cincinnati will be advised if OGLESBY appears  
 in Cambridge, Mass.

3-Bureau (105-142056) (RM) REC 10  
 I-Cincinnati (100-15928) (RM)  
 1-Detroit (RM)  
 1-Boston (100-37094) EX-113  
 RHB:nr  
 (6)

105-142056-55

20 MAY 20 1967

SUBJ CONTROL

62 MAY 29 1967

CPO-320

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED